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## LEO X AND MUSIC

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PETRO AARON, in his *Thoscanello de la musica* (1523), observed that the predilection of Leo X for music had encouraged many artists to adopt it as a profession, in the hope that they might obtain from him "generous rewards" (*ampii premii*). Under the paternal roof, before he became Pope Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici had been well prepared to enjoy intelligently whatever music was presented for his hearing. His father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, had not only loved the songs of the people; it had been his wish that worship be offered at the Church of San Giovanni "with a blending of the sweetest voices" ("suavissimo vocum concentu"),<sup>1</sup> and he had greatly admired the skill of his organist, Antonio Squarcialupo.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni possessed an agreeable voice and had known how to sing<sup>3</sup> since childhood. He had doubtless received instruction from the Fleming, Heinrich Isaac. Certain of Isaac's compositions must have been especially familiar to his pupil. In one, the composer had utilized as *tenor* the "cry" of the Medici, *Palle, palle*, and he had composed a moving setting for the verses in which Angelo Poliziano had lamented the death of Lorenzo, *Quis dabit*

<sup>1</sup> *Raphaelis Brandolini Lippi junioris de musica et poetica opusculum*, cited by A. de La Page (*Essais de diphthérographie musicale*, 1864, p. 63).

<sup>2</sup> See the praises bestowed upon Squarcialupo, printed in the *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation* of Johannes Wolf (1, 1904, pp. 229-230).

<sup>3</sup> Angelo Fabroni, *Leonis decimi pontificis maximi vita*, 1797, p. 206.

*capiti meo aquam* (1492).<sup>4</sup> It has been said that Isaac wrote music also for the *rappresentazione* of *San Giovanni e Paolo*. This work<sup>5</sup> of Lorenzo's was performed by his children, among them his son Giuliano. *A te sia laude*, a three-part composition, was sung in the work, and perhaps one of the two battle-scenes that constitute part of the action was accompanied by the *A la bataglia* of Isaac, the music of which is preserved.<sup>6</sup>

While acquiring a knowledge of the "mathematics" of music from this foreigner, Giovanni de' Medici did not forget that a lone voice could suffice to arouse emotion, by means of declamation sparingly inflected, sparingly accompanied. His father, Lorenzo, gladly welcomed at his court those improvisors who rendered their verses with melodic inflections and sustained their declamation with a few chords played on the lute. Baccio Ugolini, who had played the chief rôle in the *Orfeo* of Angelo Poliziano (1471), charmed Lorenzo with his verses "sung extemporaneously to the lyra" ("canendis ex tempore ad lyram"), before he obtained the bishopric of Gaeta through the intercession of Alfonso II, King of Naples.<sup>7</sup> Aurelio Brandolini, having sought his fortune too late at the court of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary,—who died shortly after his arrival—spent a year at Florence, about 1491. His singing and lute-playing sufficiently pleased Lorenzo to arouse the jealousy of Angelo Poliziano.<sup>8</sup> We know from Ascanio Condivi, the biographer of Michelangelo, that Pietro de' Medici, after the death of his father and before he was driven from Florence, closely befriended "a certain man, known by the surname of Cardiere" ("un certo, chiamato per soprannome Cardiere"), who possessed a marvelous talent for singing "sulla lira all' improvviso".<sup>9</sup> It was during the same period that Giovanni had Atalante, the natural son of Manetto Migliorotti, within his circle at

<sup>4</sup> Isaac, *Weltliche Werke*, edited by J. Wolf (*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XIV<sup>1</sup>, 1907, p. 98 and p. 45).

<sup>5</sup> Published by Alessandro d'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, II, 1872, p. 235. See, by the same author: *Origini del teatro italiano*, I, 1891, pp. 261 and 263.

<sup>6</sup> Published in the collection already cited, XVII<sup>1</sup>, 1909, p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> A. de La Fage, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Ugolini died in 1494, a short time after having been appointed to his post (C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii ævi*, II, 1901, p. 174).

<sup>8</sup> A. de La Fage, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Allusions to music may be found in the *Prose volgari*, etc. of Angelo Poliziano, edited by Isidoro del Lungo, 1867, pp. 47, 53-54, 75, 78, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, edition of 1746, p. 9. Could this have been Jean Cordier of Bruges, who served the Pope afterwards at Milan and followed Beatrice d' Este to Venice in 1493? The Italians called him Cordiere (or Cordiero). Cf. Pompeo Molmenti: *La storia di Venezia, nella vita privata*, II, 1906, pp. 627-628, and A. C. de Schrevel, *Histoire du séminaire de Bruges*, I, 1895, pp. 160, 167, 172.

Florence. Atalante had been taught how to play the lute by Leonardo da Vinci. When, in 1490 and 1491, there were discussions about performing an *Orfeo* before the Marquis of Mantua, Atalante's services were sought after.<sup>10</sup> The style of these artists is hardly known except through this passage from Paolo Cortese: "But it [the nature of the singing] is simple, and falls on the ear rendered quite softly" ("Simplex [canendi ratio] autem est ea, quæ languidius modificata cadit"). Chariteo (Benedetto Gareth) applied the style to the verses of Vergil, and Serafino Aquilano excelled in it through the care with which he manipulated "the properly handled union of words and melodies" ("verborum et cantuum conjunctio modulata").<sup>11</sup>

The lively interest of Giovanni de' Medici concerning all kinds of music<sup>12</sup> was sufficiently well known to have prompted the Abbé of Saint-Bertin, Antoine de Berghes, to send him, before he became Pope and was still a Cardinal, "two little songs" ("duas cantiunculas"), on July 30, 1501. The gift, he wrote, was a meager one; he hoped, however, it would not prove displeasing, since, in the first place, the Cardinal was *scientissimus* in the divine and very ancient art of music, and, in the second place, because the *cantilena* was brand new, and also because the author had once had the privilege of being maintained by the illustrious family of the Medici. Antoine de Berghes neglects to name the composer and designates him merely as the first in his profession in the town of Saint-Omer.<sup>13</sup>

In the *Archivio della Cappella Giulia* (Ms. XIII, 27), there survives what may be evidence of that interest in music with which Giovanni presumably looked upon the "little songs." At least the collection repos-ing there was doubtless intended, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for a Medici. The opening composition of the volume is the *Palle, palle* of Isaac, and the arms of the family are reproduced on the

<sup>10</sup> A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, II, 1891, pp. 361 and 363.

<sup>11</sup> *De Cardinalatu*, 1510, fol. 73 verso and fol. 74. Cf. Erasmo Pérco, *Le rime di Benedetto Gareth detto il Chariteo*, 1892, p. XLIX.

<sup>12</sup> One may name among the musicians living at Florence during Giovanni's youth, Gherardo (d. 1497), who was famous for his mosaics and miniatures and had been trained in literature by Angelo Poliziano. He was for some time organist at Sant' Egidio. (P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, I, 1914, p. 77). Bastiano Foresi, a notary, played the lute (Marsilio Ficino, *Opera*, I, 1475, p. 715). Perino Organo, who died in 1500 at the age of twenty-nine, excelled in playing this instrument. Alessandro Mellini, "most skillful in playing musical instruments" ("in pulsandis harmonicis instrumentis peritissimus") was treated with favor by Leo. (Piccioli, *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum omnis generis*, 1589, p. 144 and p. 4.)

<sup>13</sup> *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi*, published by P. S. Allen, I, 1906, p. 371. The transmission of the letter was entrusted to Erasmus.

first page of the piece.<sup>14</sup> There are grouped together, in the manuscript, works by Ockeghem, Josquin des Prez, Agricola, Heyne, Obrecht, Loyset Compère, etc. The chanson *Cela sans plus* was copied into it under the name of Colinet. The musician who wrote it, Colinet de Lannoy, is unknown, but this work of his is found in many manuscripts. Johannes Wolf has published it (*Handbuch der Notationskunde*, I, 1913, p. 395). Cardinal Giovanni undertook to reset the melody, proving thereby that he had analyzed enough polyphonic *chansons* to be able to construct them. Having adopted Colinet's *tenor*, he wove about it a counterpoint of four parts. He thus treated in five parts what his predecessor had fashioned in only three<sup>15</sup>—a proof of his self-confidence, since the most skillful writers of the time generally contented themselves with marshalling but four lines in their musical figurations. Giovanni acquits himself of his task with a certain ease, avoids technical subtleties in which he might lose himself, but does not abandon himself to the cheaply facile. This sensitive amateur seems intent on nothing more than to amuse himself, without trying to astonish others. Hence the harmonious and tranquil flow of the music, which is preserved from meandering, without the imposition of a mechanical development upon the musical discourse. The inevitable repetition of essential motives is disguised by vocal embroidery or by an ingenious linking of harmonies (measure 4). Giovanni is probably recalling Weerbecke and Agricola when, in the seventh measure, he proceeds expressively by syncopation. And these two masters may also have suggested to him, in the same place, the supporting of the soprano by a bass which parallels it at the interval of a tenth. He escapes, however, from the temptation of over-using this agreeable device, approved by Franchino Gafori in his *Practica musicae* (1496), "the most famous . . . succession of notes," ("Celleberrimus . . . processus notularum"), which the greatest musicians, named by Gafori, have employed, "and the rest of the most delectable composers" ("ac reliqui jucundissimi compositores"). Like Obrecht, Isaac sometimes used to excess this easy means of pleasing. The discretion shown by his supposed pupil is therefore all the more laudable. As

<sup>14</sup> A facsimile is included in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XIV<sup>1</sup>, p. vii.

<sup>15</sup> F. X. Haberl, *Eine Komposition des Cardinals Jo. de Medicis*, etc. (*Kirchenmusikalischs Jahrbuch*, 1888, pp. 39-43). The words, which are omitted in the copies of this *chanson*, may be found in ms. XIX, 176 of the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, where they are appended to an anonymous transcription of Colinet's piece. The text, corrupted by the scribe, may be reconstructed as follows: "Cela sans plus, et puis holà, gente bergière, belle de bon renom, jetez mon cœur hors de vos prisons." ("Only this, and then holà, gentle shepherdess, beauty of fair renown, cast my heart free from your bonds.")

for the rest of the piece, Giovanni had studied the manner of the so-called *Tedesco* (Isaac) with enough care to be able to borrow from him some happy turns of style. Thus he favors injecting some bite into the preparation of his cadences, and he has observed that Isaac obtained it by bold progression of the bass (measures 24-26).<sup>16</sup> If one discovers consecutive fifths in Giovanni's *chanson*, the responsibility for their appearance may be attributed to Isaac's example.

This *chanson*, and doubtless other attempts also, come near to justifying Raffaele Brandolini's assertion that the Cardinal de' Medici had once understood music so well as to excel in it above "the foremost of his teachers" ("præstantissimis ejus doctoribus"). This not disinterested praise was, apparently, written a short time before the death of Julius II (1513). Paolo Cortese, in his work *De Cardinalatu* (fol. 73, verso), published in 1510, mentions the skill which had been acquired by Giovanni de' Medici, "a man proficient in the learned investigation into musical matters" ("homo in musicis litterata p[ro]vestigatione prudens"). These words remind us that Tinctoris, in his *Proportionale musices* had not been surprised that the musical writings of certain composers were faulty, "since I have heard that they are most unlettered" ("quoniam illos minime litteratos audiverim").<sup>17</sup> According to Cortese, Giovanni did not admit to the rank of truly great composers those unskilled in the art of writing masses (*musica litatoria*). Could it have been as a result of the Cardinal's opinion that Cortese placed Josquin above his rivals in the composing of masses? Was not Cortese perhaps inspired by Giovanni when he declared that Obrecht had much adroitness but appeared "rather uncouth in the whole manner of his contriving" ("toto struendi genere horridior")?—a contriving, he adds, made with verjuice rather than with sugar. And here, precisely, Isaac, *Gallus*, is blamed for having been overfastidious "in his repetition of [adherence to] modes" (*modorum iteratione*). Cortese, in this chapter (*De vitandis passionibus*) of his second book, in which he mentions many musicians, very likely chose to name those artists whom Giovanni most admired. Among the organists, he mentions first Isaac Argyropoulos, the son of Giovanni the "peripatetic"<sup>18</sup>: he remained faithful to the mode in which

<sup>16</sup> Compare this passage with a similar one in Isaac's *Al mein Mut* (*Weltliche Werke*, edition cited, p. 3), or in his Mass: *O præclara*, quoted by Peter Wagner (*Geschichte der Messe*, I, 1913, p. 288), etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Proportionale musices*, published by E. de Coussemaker (*Joannis Tinctoris tractatus de musica*, 1875, p. 463). This treatise was doubtless written shortly after 1476.

<sup>18</sup> Fol. 73. The chief documents concerning this master of the organ and cembalo are printed by Spyridon P. Lampros (*Argyropouleia*, 1910). He was expert in building organs (with pipes made

he had begun to play ("Constanti modorum collatione præstat") while Domenico the Venetian, and Daniel the German (Daniel Starck?), through their rapid and excessive changes of mode (*intemperantius effusa percusione*) did not permit any one mode to become sufficiently established for the ear to distinguish it. Cortese mentions lute-players also: Pietro Bono of Ferrara,<sup>19</sup> and, later, the Germans Balthasar and Gian Maria.

Giovanni Philotheo Achillini, who dedicated his *Viridario* to the Cardinal de' Medici, did not fail to call attention, in his eulogy of Bologna, to all the musicians he knew there. He took pains to describe, in his poem,<sup>20</sup> little musical scenes—an infallible way of winning the favor of the prelate. Shortly before the election of Leo X, Raffaele Brandolini describes him, surrounded by "the most select singers" ("lectissimis cantoribus"): he sings at times himself, or else he listens to the other singers with close attention, "the music of the faithful, that was resorted to, being sometimes varied and pleasing" ("adhibita nonnunquam varia jucundaque fidium harmonia").<sup>21</sup> In another document, Brandolini again repeats that his protector drew to himself the most skilled musicians—both instrumentalists and singers—and that the charm of Leo's concerts was, in short, "a kind of the loftiest enjoyability" ("honestissimum voluptatis genus").<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, soon after his accession to the Papal throne, Leo's taste for music was commented upon and even criticized. Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, envoy of Emperor Maximilian at Rome, reported to his sovereign merely that the new Pope was well disposed towards men of letters, poets, "and also towards musicians" ("ac etiam musices") (March 1513).<sup>23</sup> Pietro Martire d'Anghiera writes, from Valladolid (April 20, 1513): "We have an erudite but musical pontiff, who is delighted with the bands of singers and with the numerous assembly" ("Habemus pontificem eruditum, sed musicum, et qui cantorum collegiis et frequenti

of a cloth-composition). See Adr. Cappelli, *Giov. ed Isacco Argiropulo (Archivio storico lombardo, 2nd series, 8, 1891, p. 172)*. He often chanted the epistle or the gospel in Greek at pontifical ceremonies, and died in 1508 (*Johannes Burckardi liber notarum*, ed. Enrico Celani, I, 1907, p. 386 and II, 1911 *passim*).

<sup>19</sup> He died about 1505 (Giulio Bertoni, *L'Orlando furioso e la Rinascenza a Ferrara*, 1919, p. 242).

<sup>20</sup> Printed at Bologna, December 24, 1513, but written earlier.

<sup>21</sup> A. de la Fage, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> *Dialogus Leo nuncupatus*, 1753, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> *Lettres du roi Louis XII*, published by J. Godefroy, Vol. IV, 1712, p. 79.

*corona delectatur").<sup>24</sup>* In the following September, Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador to Spain, writes that evil tongues say the Pope, "values nothing except to sound the lute" ("non val niente, si no di sonar liuto").<sup>25</sup> But, nevertheless, Leo's genuine love for music was founded on lofty ideals and keen discrimination. Those who were really close to him knew that he admired, above all, compositions inspired by the praise of God (Fabroni, *op. cit.*, p. 296). From the very first year of his reign, he appointed Nicolaus de Pictis, clerk of Florence, as *prior* of the Papal choir, with the power to administer reprimands to the singers, if necessary, and thus make them serve with greater diligence Him *qui habitat in excelsis*.<sup>26</sup> The composer, Elzéar Genet, surnamed Carpentras after the town of his origin, recalls in a dedication to Ippolito, Cardinal de' Medici (nephew of Leo X), that Louis XII had sent him to Leo, at the Pope's request, in the beginning of his pontificate, to direct the Papal chapel.<sup>27</sup> No music, he declares, enthralled Leo as did the chant of the religious offices. He was moved to such a degree, "that the choir often, in this manner, drew pious tears from him ("ut illi pias saepe lachrymas hujusmodi concentus elicerent"). This edifying tribute to sacred art had prompted Genet to reflect that "this weak and harsh music" ("mollem illam et præfractam musicen"), which causes the ruin of those addicted to it, should be condemned. For music has power to influence morals after the likeness of its modes, etc. In this passage, the musician evokes the ancient doctrine, as Marsilio Ficino, for example, had done,<sup>28</sup> in the way in which it had been expanded, discussed, and tested also by those in the circle of Leo X: Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi reports that, while at the Papal court, he had repeated occasion to experience what the emotional effects and consequences of music are.<sup>29</sup> Thus, there was, in the Pope's predilection for motets and masses, a mixture of humanism and piety. Genet confesses that, in the Pope's

<sup>24</sup> *Opus epistolarum*, edition of 1670, p. 283.

<sup>25</sup> *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, XVII, 1886, Col. 164. Leo X's taste for music was so well known that many singers left the chapel of the Marquis of Mantua when they learned of his accession: Al. Luzio, *Isabella d'Este ne' primordi del papato di Leone X*, etc. (*Arch. storico lombardo*, 33rd year, 1906, pp. 125-6).

<sup>26</sup> G. Amati, *Notizia di alcuni manoscritti dell'archivio secreto vaticano* (*Archivio storico italiano*, 3rd series, Vol. III, 1866, p. 235).

<sup>27</sup> Cited by Anton Schmid, *Beiträge zur Literatur und Geschichte der Tonkunst*, in Dehn's periodical *Cäcilia*, XXIII, 1844, p. 203.

<sup>28</sup> *Opera*, II, edition of 1576 (*In Timæum commentarium*, pp. 1453-60).

<sup>29</sup> *Historia poetarum, tam græcorum quam latinorum, dialogi decem*, 1580, p. 348.

service, he became transformed. Renouncing the frivolity of the *frottole*, he set himself to composing—in order to obey his master—music for the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and he had the satisfaction to see this austere and forceful work approved.<sup>30</sup>

It was doubtless Genet who directed the Papal singers when, on December 13, 1515, at Bologna, they tested their mettle against that of the singers of Francis I. Florange, who describes the ceremony briefly, recalls that Leo X loved music deeply, and, without rendering any specific judgment, he records his admiration for both these “two brave choirs,” which sang in competition and which it was good to hear.<sup>31</sup> No doubt it would have been difficult to determine in what respect one of the two groups prevailed over the other. Many of those who participated came from the same stock and had had the same training. Louis XII relinquished to the Pope not only Genet, but a number of choir-boys. In 1517, Leo X addressed to Francis I a recommendation in favor of one of them, Jean Cunsel (Conseil) of Paris (*Arch. Nat. L.* 357, II, no. 44). Conseil had learned music at the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and it was there that the Pope hoped to see him appointed Canon. On January 1, 1510, Conseil was still in Paris.<sup>32</sup> His name is inscribed together with the names of Hilaire Penet and Pierre de Monchiaron in a list made at Rome, May 15, 1514 (with later entries added up to September 17, 1516). The boys were the *cantores parvi* (young singers) of Leo X.<sup>33</sup> Conseil and Hilaire Penet have left compositions. Their companion was very likely the singer whom Bembo considered the most skillful, and the one endowed with the most agreeable and flexible voice. It is probable that he died during the summer of 1514. To replace him, Bembo requested of the Cardinal of Siena, Alfonso Petrucci, that he let the Pope have one of his boys, “a French youth well-trained in music” (“*puerum gallum musicae peritum*”).<sup>34</sup>

Leo X has been reproached for excessive generosity to musicians. Marino Zorzi writes to the signory of Venice, March 17, 1517, that the Pope is “excellent above all other musicians, and that, if he sings with any artist, he pays him a hundred ducats and more.”<sup>35</sup> Fabroni alleges

<sup>30</sup> A. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>31</sup> *Mémoires du maréchal de Florange*, edited by Goubaux and Lemoisne, Vol. I, 1913, p. 211.

<sup>32</sup> Michel Brenet, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte Chapelle du palais*, 1910, p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> Alessandro Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X* (*Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria*, XXXIV, 1911, p. 391).

<sup>34</sup> Petri Bembi *epistolarum Leonis decimi . . . nomine scriptarum libri XVI*, 1538, p. 198.

<sup>35</sup> Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXIV, 1889, Col. 93.

that Leo thought musicians merited as large rewards as men of letters; he names some who appear to have enjoyed especial favor: the Spaniards Merino and Peñalosa, and the German, Gian Maria (Joannes Maria Germanus). The only known talent of Gabriel Merino was his ability to play (*psallere*) and sing, and yet he had received the archbishopric of Bari (1513).<sup>36</sup> However, music alone perhaps did not cause the good fortune of this person—he had formerly been master of the kennels to Cardinal Antonio Sforza,<sup>37</sup> and was deeply versed in the art of organizing great hunts, of which Leo was passionately fond. Moreover, while at Ascanio's court, Merino may have profited from the example of, or even have had lessons from, the celebrated Serafino Aquilano, who was in the service of this Cardinal together with Josquin des Prez and the painter Pinturicchio.<sup>38</sup> Merino, even though he never became adept in practice, had been in a very good position, at the Cardinal's, to acquire the faculty of judging artists: and it appears that he eventually was charged with recruiting and examining musicians for Leo.<sup>39</sup> As for Francisco Peñalosa, if his happy fate excited jealousy<sup>40</sup> —he was proposed for an archdeaconry,—it should be remembered that there survive under the name of this singer (and poet also, it has been said) secular compositions in which the workmanship is ingenious,<sup>41</sup> and motets in which Leo X may have admired that gravity to which he converted Elzéar Genet.<sup>42</sup> And the surprise, the indignation, the insurrection even, of the inhabitants of Verrucchio was inevitable, when the town was placed under the rule of the Jewish lutenist, Gian Maria, called the German.<sup>43</sup> But, to begin with, this musician had been the

<sup>36</sup> Fabroni, *op. cit.*, p. 206 (*cf.* Eubel, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

<sup>37</sup> A. Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo . . .* (*Arch. cited*, XXXV, 1912, p. 227).

<sup>38</sup> Mario Menghini, *Le rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall' Aquilla*, I, 1894, p. 35.

<sup>39</sup> A. Ferrajoli, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>40</sup> The cited edition of Bembo's Letters, p. 387 (December 26, 1517).

<sup>41</sup> Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, 1890, p. 41 (see also p. 585). Juan del Encina, poet and musician, also appears to have enjoyed the protection of Leo X (R. Mitjana, *Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles del siglo XVI*, 1918, pp. 46-7).

<sup>42</sup> Motets by Peñalosa are published in Hilarion Eslava, *Lira sacro-hispana*, I.

<sup>43</sup> On July 8, 1513, Leo asked the duke of Urbino to lend assistance to "Gian Maria the German, a man skillful in art and very close to me, indeed an old friend" (*Joanni Mariae Germano, viro artis peritissimo, meoque familiariter sane perueteri*) (the cited Letters of Bembo, p. 74). The inhabitants of Verrucchio were unwilling to receive him (see the allusion to the people's attitude in the *Cortigiana* of Aretino). Paolo Cortese considered the German lutenists, Balthasar and Gian Maria, as the reformers of their art (*op. cit.*, fol. 73). On July 26, 1513, Gabbionetta informed the marquis of Mantua that he had been present at a concert *di violoni* given before Leo X by "Zo. Maria Judeo," and that the music lasted a long time (see the above-cited study of A. Luzio, *Arch. stor. lombardo*, 1906, p. 121).

delight of Leo for a long time. At baptism he had received the names of John and Mary, to which that of Medici was joined.<sup>44</sup> (After the same token, Josquin was for a time called Josquin d'Ascanio.) His dexterity became proverbial. When Sabba da Castiglione, in his *Ricordi*, depicts a glutton who, disregarding knives and forks, eats with his fingers, he says that the man's digital agility exceeds that of any lute-player in Italy, "including even Giovan-Maria Giudeo."<sup>45</sup> Gian Maria had devised refinements in methods of performance, having the music he played accompanied by three other lutenists, he alone being supplied with a plectrum.<sup>46</sup> "*Il conte Gianmaria Giudeo*" is again mentioned with esteem by Francesco Marcolini, in the dedication of the *Intabulatura di Lauto* (1536), in which he prints some compositions by Francesco da Milano.<sup>47</sup>

Without repeating here all the instances already enumerated elsewhere,<sup>48</sup> it should be pointed out that the benefits, lavished by Leo upon musicians, were generally bestowed upon men of recognized talent. It must be remembered that it was owing to him that Heinrich Isaac was able to end his days at Florence with the same salary Lorenzo the Magnificent had assigned to him<sup>49</sup>: a fitting recompense for the six-part motet with which Isaac had celebrated the accession of the pontiff.<sup>50</sup> Many other composers owed their stipends to him. Mention may be made of the austere Juan Scribano, singer in the chapel (March, 1515),<sup>51</sup> Marbriano de Orto, whose musical discourse possesses breadth and expressiveness (May, 1515),<sup>52</sup> Vincent Misonne (August, 1515),<sup>53</sup> who

<sup>44</sup> Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 1906, pp. 399-400. (English edition, ed. by F. I. Antrobus and R. F. Kerr, 1906-33. Page references are to the German edition.)

<sup>45</sup> Fol. 43. Elsewhere he compares *li suoni di Giovan-Maria* with the *canti* of Josquin and Mouton (fol. 65).

<sup>46</sup> Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXXIV, 1892, col. 216 (May, 1523).

<sup>47</sup> Oscar Chilesotti, *Francesco da Milano* (Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, 1903, p. 383). A pupil of G. Angelo Estagrossa, F. da Milano died in 1543, at the age of forty-seven (Luci Gaurico, *Tractatus astrologicus*, 1552, fol. 80). He was highly regarded by Leo X (Cardan, *Libelli quinque*, 1547, fol. 120).

<sup>48</sup> See especially Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-403.

<sup>49</sup> Edmond Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, VIII, 1888, pp. 540-1. The letter of recommendation in favor of Isaac is dated May 13, 1514.

<sup>50</sup> Published in 1520 (*Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant*).

<sup>51</sup> Many musicians are mentioned in the documents published by Jos. and Fr. Hergenröther (*Leonis decimi . . . regesta*, 1884-1891). Scribano is referred to on p. 55 of fascicles 7-8 (1891). Two pieces by Scribano were inserted in the *Canzoni nove* published at Rome by Andrea Antico in 1510 (fol. 3 verso, 4 and fol. 8 verso 9).

<sup>52</sup> Fr. Hergenröther, fasc. 7-8, p. 96. In 1515, Marbriano de Orto was first chaplain to Charles, archduke of Austria (*Arch. du Nord*, B 3346, fol. 46).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

was a singer in the chapel and author of a mass on *Cela sans plus*, and to whom the Pope insisted that the canony of Cambrai be given,<sup>54</sup> and André Michot, also a singer of the chapel,<sup>55</sup> who has left us a mass and a motet.

Other singers of the Pope wrote respectable compositions also. In the *Macaronea vigesima*, Teofilo Folengo lauded the church-musicians gathered by Leo X:

*O felix Bido, Carpentras, Sylvaque, Broier,  
Vosque leoninæ cantorum squadra capellæ.*

(O happy Bido, Carpentras, Sylva, and Broier,  
And you band of singers of the Leonine chapel.)

Costanzo Festa is named a little farther on.<sup>56</sup> A mass by Antoine Brugier (Bruhier, Broier) has an archaic flavor; its seriousness is praiseworthy.<sup>57</sup> Some religious compositions by Andreas de Sylva have been preserved, and Costanzo Festa has left us numerous works.

Among this band of musicians, the name of Josquin was revered. Adrian Willaert became a victim to the admiration they affected for the peerless master. When Willaert came from Flanders to Rome, he heard his motet *Verbum bonum et suave*, which the singers of Leo X attributed to Josquin and which they held in high esteem. When Willaert told them it was his own work, they no longer deigned to perform it.<sup>58</sup> Doubtless the Pope recognized the value of Josquin also, but he was willing to admit that he had rivals. In fact, he accepted from Andrea Antico the dedication of a collection, *Liber quindecim missarum electarum* (1516), in which, after some works by Josquin, there appear masses by Brumel, Fevin, Pierre de la Rue, Mouton, and others. The editor is depicted as doing homage with his book to the pontiff, and the theme of a canon (*Vivat Leo decimus*) is drawn on the open pages of the volume he is offering. Antico had insured that this product of his labor should be well received: he had searched, he says, for the best and most solemn works.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Bibl. de Cambrai, ms. 1067, fol. 60 verso (August 21, 1516), fol. 75 and 156 verso; ms. 1068, fol. 29 verso, 32, 34, 44 verso, and 54.

<sup>55</sup> J. Hergenrather, *Regesta*, p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> *Opus Merlini Cocaii*, 1521, fol. 196.

<sup>57</sup> Antonius Brochier is described as *cantor secretus* in a note of October 29, 1513 (Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 399). The mass *Mediatrix nostra* is at the Library of Vienna.

<sup>58</sup> Gioseffe Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, Vol. I of Zarlino's Complete Works, 1589, p. 448.

<sup>59</sup> There is a copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine. The title-page has been reproduced in the 1898 and 1899 instalments of Henry Expert's *Maitres musiciens de la renaissance française*. Antico

Leo X did not presume to pass judgment by himself on the music for which his approbation was solicited. In a letter of June 8, 1515, written by Bembo (who became the Pope's secretary in 1513), Sigismondo Trotto of Ferrara learned how the *cantilena* he sent had been judged: "It delighted me [Leo], and the rest, among whom, as you know, I have many men learned in this matter [music], and it held its own very well" ("Ea me [Leonem], relictosque, quos habeo multos ut scis in ea re doctos homines oblectavit tenuique plurimum").<sup>60</sup> Bembo was himself fully capable of giving a judicious opinion in the matter<sup>61</sup>; the result of the examination had been imparted by Vincenzo da Modena, a renowned performer on the cembalo, who had played for Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, to comfort him during his last days (1505).<sup>62</sup> According to Casio, this *almo organista* served Leo X.<sup>63</sup>

The Pope liked to enter into discussions with the men of learning and noble birth whom he gathered about him, concerning "tones and the tuning of strings, and the whole proportion of numbers" ("tonis et chordis, totaque numerorum proportione"). It is probable that he talked with them about a problem-piece Adrian Willaert submitted to him, a duo that ended on a seventh instead of an octave. Leo's private singers did not manage to go through with it successfully, and recourse was had to the *violoni*, who played it, but not very well.<sup>64</sup> Roughly handled by a composer who was too subtle for them, the Pope's retainers amused themselves, in turn, by confounding those who ventured into musical activity without sufficient preparation. Grown old, Evangelista Tarasconi, a secretary to Leo, suddenly regarded himself as a consummate musician, and did not hesitate to propose ridiculous precepts. For ex-

published also, under privileges granted by Leo X, *Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti et frottole* (privilege of October 3, 1515; copy in the Bibl. Prunières), *Frottole intabulata da sonare organi* (privilege of December 27, 1517; copy in the Bibl. Polesini, Parenzo), and *Chansons a troys* (publ. in 1520; copy in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, Rés. Vm 7, 669).

<sup>60</sup> The cited edition of Bembo's letters, p. 239. On February 3, 1514, Alfonso Trotti of Ferrara sent a motet, *In te speravi*, to Rome, desiring that it be presented to the Pope (L. F. Valdighi, *Cappelle, concerti e musiche di casa d'Este*, in the *Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenese e parmensi*, 3rd series, Vol. II, Part I, 1884, p. 460).

<sup>61</sup> Space forbids our recounting here what interest Bembo and Sadolet evinced for music. Bembo was the godfather of Girolamo Cavazzoni, who dedicated his *Intavolatura* to him in 1542.

<sup>62</sup> Valdighi, edition cited, pp. 422-3.

<sup>63</sup> Hieronimo Casio, *Libro intitolato Cronica*, 1525, fol. 48. I owe my information concerning this passage to Signor Antonio Boselli, director of the Biblioteca Universitaria at Bologna, to whom I express my thanks. Born in 1470, V. da Modena died at the end of his forty-ninth year. Possessing long, slender fingers, he played with much rapidity and sweetness. Leo gave him 700 *aureos* per year. Giulio da Modena, nephew of Vincenzo, was also his pupil (Gaurico, fol. 85).

<sup>64</sup> Bibl. nat., ms. italien 1110, fol. 47 (letter of Giovanni Spataro, dated May 23, 1523).

ample, he wished to tie the arms of the lutenists close to their shoulders in order to increase the strength of their fingers, and to remove the tapestries from the rooms in which singing took place. Through the efforts of Bibiena, the poor man fanned the fire of his madness, and the Pope approved, if one may credit Paolo Giovio, all the practical jokes contrived to spur on his aberrations.<sup>65</sup> Jacopo Baraballo, the hero of a mock triumph, was perhaps a musician as well as a poet.<sup>66</sup> Giovanni Manente, appointed chamberlain to the Pope on April 1, 1514, sang and played. During the Easter season, in 1515, he took it into his head to carol, before the table of Leo, sonnets relating to politics and love. But his master reminded him that, during the holiday season, it would be more seemly to lay aside "these things of love" ("queste cose de amore") : and Manente intoned *Gloria in excelsis*.<sup>67</sup> Pindaro, who had been secretary to Cardinal Giovanni in 1503, was likewise both versifier and musician.<sup>68</sup> The most brilliant of those who extemporaneously sang Latin verses, while accompanying themselves on the lute, seems to have been one Andrea Marone, upon whom Leo conferred the priesthood. Paolo Giovio has left us a description of Marone's poetic transports: he prefaced them with introductions on his instrument, and while he played and sang his eyes took on a fixed and ardent look, the veins of his forehead stood out and his face was bathed in perspiration.<sup>69</sup> It does not seem that Bartolomeo Tromboncino, the excellent singer and lutenist, famed as the moving interpreter of Petrarch's *Si è debole il filo* and of the Lamentations, was ever admitted into the Pope's service.<sup>70</sup> But another musician of even greater renown by reason of his voice, Bidon, doubtless sojourned for a time at Leo's court. At least, Folengo (see above) allows one to entertain this belief, and Casio affirms it:

<sup>65</sup> *Illustrum virorum vita*, 1549 (*Vita Leonis decimi*, p. 97).

<sup>66</sup> Ferrajoli, in the *Arch.* already cited, XXXIX, 1916, pp. 564-7.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, XL, pp. 255-7. Raffaele Brandolini was also applauded as an improviser. It is probable that he was the "gifted blind-man" ("cieco dotto") who sang Latin verses extemporaneously *nella lira* at the reception given at Rome (1512) to Matthaeus Lang, envoy of the Emperor. (Al. Luzio, *Federigo Gonzaga, ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II*, in *Arch. della R. Soc. rom. di storia patria*, IX, 1866, p. 544.) Giacomo da Sanseconde was also celebrated as a singer to the lute as well as to the viol. Timoteo della Vite, of Urbino, a painter and friend of Raphael, a skillful performer on the lute, declined to enter the service of Leo X (Fabroni, *op. cit.*, p. 308): Vasari says of him that he improvised to the *lira*, with extraordinary grace (*Le vite*, etc., edited by Milanesi, IV, 1879, p. 499).

<sup>69</sup> Paolo Giovio, *Elogia*, 1546, fol. 44 verso 45.

<sup>70</sup> Ferrajoli, in the *Arch.* cited, XXXV, 1912, p. 233.

*Bidon da Asi, eccelso, almo cantore  
Che al decimo Leon fioriva il choro.  
Tolto l'ha Giove, et hor fa nel suo foro  
Sovran perfetto, basso, alto e tenore.<sup>71</sup>*

(Bidon da Asi, sublime and excellent singer  
Who for Leo the tenth caused the chorus to flower.  
Jove has removed him, and now he sings on Olympus  
Perfect soprano and basso, alto and tenor.)

Casio, who devotes two of his *Epitaphia* to Bidon, declares that he did not have his equal on earth "in throat and voice" ("in gorga et voce"), and that if he now competes with the angels, he has "a throat more agile" ("gorga più veloce"). Baldassare Castiglione, remarking in *Il Cortegiano* that music charms "through divers means" ("per diverse cause"), describes Bidon's *maniera del cantare*, which, he says, possesses such skill and passion, and is so facile, rich in melody, and "stirred up" ("concitata"), that the spirits of the auditors were moved and filled with ardor, etc.<sup>72</sup>

Performers on wind-instruments also distinguished themselves at the concerts, which, after meals, resounded through the palace.<sup>73</sup> In 1520, a certain Zuan Maria, *piffaro* to the Doge, left Venice for Rome, with the permission of the Signory, which was desirous of pleasing the Pope.<sup>74</sup> Andrea Calmo calls him "a kinsman of the Muses" ("consanguineo de le Muse") devising for him the most flattering of eulogies: "And, finally, in the soul of Leo X, there resound still today the staccato-effects, the trills, the 'counterpointing' and the melody of your beautiful music" ("E infina ancuo in di l'anema de Lion decimo sente quei botizari, i gropeti, el contrapontizar e la melodia del vostro bel son").<sup>75</sup> Scardeoni considers him as almost the first to have begun, *suavis modulationibus*, to please with the cornett,<sup>76</sup> and Folengo believes that he cannot be surpassed: according to him, this musician has eaten "the tongues of every manner of bird, and harmony" ("le lingue d'ogni augello e

<sup>71</sup> *Cronica*, fol. 48 verso.

<sup>72</sup> Edition of Vittorio Cian, 1894, p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> *Leonis decimi vita, auctore anonymo conscripta*, published by W. Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the tenth*, IV, 1805, Appendix, p. 85.

<sup>74</sup> Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXVIII, 1890, col. 488 and col. 618. On July 21, 1520, the name of Jo. Maria, *musico di corneto*, was entered in the accounts of the pontifical treasury (Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 400).

<sup>75</sup> Vittorio Rossi, *Le lettere di messer Antonio Calmo*, 1888, pp. 118-9.

<sup>76</sup> *De antiquitate urbis Patavii, et claris civibus Patavinis*, 1560, p. 263.

*l'armonia*).<sup>77</sup> The *musici* of Francis I, upon whom 115 ducats were conferred on June 15, 1519, are probably the men who, six in number, had played flutes and a trombone at Venice in May.<sup>78</sup>

By means of the report that Alfonso Paolucci wrote to the Duke of Ferrara on March 8, 1519, we can see what a variety of musical *intermezzi* were performed at the presentation of Ariosto's *Suppositi*, which had been given before the Pope. *Piffari*, bagpipes, two cornetts, viols, and a lute, the small organ "so varied of voice" ("tanto variato de voce") which the Cardinal of Aragon had given to Leo X,<sup>79</sup> a singer accompanied by a flutist, all were heard in succession. There was also a chorus, which the author of the report found less pleasing than the rest.<sup>80</sup>

Leo X listened to all these musicians with rapt attention. Whoever the composers or performers, he followed their efforts with a pleasure mingled with anxiety—for might he not be deceived in his fancies or his hopes? The conflict between dream and reality ever gripped his senses and his mind. But, however firm may have been his doctrine, he yielded to the sweetness of tones, he seemed to abandon himself and submit to the witchcraft of music, softly blending his voice, in a murmur, to the sound of the melodies that enthralled him.<sup>81</sup>

By his judicious liberality, he well served the art of his preference. It is impossible to show here how productive was the rivalry he stimulated. Cosimo Bartoli, who mentions with admiration the work of one of Leo's singers, Costanzo Festa, allows one of the interlocutors of his dialogue to vaunt the excellence of other servitors of the Pope in addition: "If only you had heard Carpentras, Consiglio (Conseil), Bidon,

<sup>77</sup> *Orlandino, per Limerno Pitocco da Mantova composto*, 1526, fol. 38 verso.

<sup>78</sup> Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 400. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, XXVII, col. 230 and col. 238.

<sup>79</sup> This instrument had been constructed at Brixen (Bressanone) (*Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona, beschrieben von Antonio de Beatis, in den Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, published by L. Pastor, Vol. 4, 4th instalment, p. 28). Baldassare Castiglione alludes, in a letter dated July 16, 1521, to an *organo di alabastro* borne from Naples to the Pope (Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, IV, Part I, 1906, p. 401). Leo X had also, in his chamber, an *instrumentum* upon which he practised, and gave vent to his musical inspirations (Fabroni, *op. cit.*, p. 206). In March 1514, Lorenzo Gusnasco, a maker of instruments, announced to Isabella d'Este the completion of *cembalo* which he had just delivered to the Pope (Julia Cartwright, *Isabella d'Este*, II, 1903, p. 29). Hans Neuschel, *Posaunenmacher* (trombone maker) at Nuremberg, manufactured instruments of silver for him (G. W. K. Lochner, *J. Neudorfer's Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten in Nürnberg*, 1875, pp. 163 and 167).

<sup>80</sup> Antonio Cappelli, *Lettore di Lodovico Ariosto*, edition of 1887, pp. CLXXVI-CLXXVII. In June, 1521, the Pope heard three performers on the harp, tambourine, and *violetta*. (Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 400.)

<sup>81</sup> *Leonis decimi vita* (Roscoe, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 85).

Biaseron,"<sup>82</sup> etc.! Valentin Bakfark, in his lute-book (1565), recognized that "this art of music receives from Leo X so much both of increase and of adornment, that he conducts it to the very topmost summit" ("Leone decimo tantum et accessionis et ornamenti accepit hæc musices ars, ut eam ad summum ille fastigium perduxerit"). He lays stress, possibly with a purpose, on the Pope's liberality.<sup>83</sup> But Wilhelm Eysengrein must be considered freer of suspicion of self-seeking when, almost at the same time, he introduces this disinterested remark into his history of Speyer: "*Leo decimus musicos in primis amavit*"— "Above all, Leo X loved the musicians."<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Ragionamenti accademici*, 1567, fol. 36 and fol. 37. Biaseron is Jean Bonnevin, surnamed Beausseron because he was born at Chenon in Beauce. He served Leo X, beginning with 1518. A mass and three motets of his are preserved (M. Brent, *op. cit.*, p. 61).

<sup>83</sup> *Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum tomus primus* (1565). This passage is given in the 4th volume of the *Catalogo della bibl. del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, of G. Gaspari, completed and published by R. Cadolini, 1905, p. 166.

<sup>84</sup> *Chronologicarum rerum amplissimæ clarissimæque urbis Spiræ libri XVI* (1564), fol. 287.—A three-part canon by Leo X has already been mentioned by Knud Jeppesen in his *Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier*, 1927, p. LXXII. The author of that excellent work has kindly called my attention to this piece as well as to a four-part canon, preserved in the same ms. collection, with the same inscription.

(Translated by Gustave Reese)

## NEWLY DISCOVERED FOSTERIANA

By JOHN TASKER HOWARD

UNTIL the present year (1934) only twenty-two letters written by Stephen Collins Foster were known to modern students of the song-writer's life. Consequently the appearance of further letters constitutes something of an event, particularly when the newly discovered documents furnish added information on Foster's career.

It may be that Foster was not a prolific letter-writer, or else that those to whom he wrote letters did not appreciate the value they might have to a future generation. The fact remains that contemporary documents dealing with the facts of Foster's life and career are exceedingly scarce. Of the twenty-two previously known letters, the originals of fifteen are in the collection of Foster Hall at Indianapolis. These include a boyhood letter written when Stephen was ten and a half years old (January 14, 1837); four letters to Stephen's brother William, written in 1840 and 1841, and dealing principally with Stephen's difficulties at the schools he attended; a letter to a music publisher, W. E. Millet (May 25, 1849); seven letters to Stephen's brother Morrison, dealing with family affairs and Stephen's own financial difficulties, written in the years 1853, 1858, 1859, and 1860; a brief note to William, enclosing the words of a political song (March 11, 1857); and a short letter to George W. Birdseye (Feb. 11, 1863).

Four of the remaining letters were addressed to E. P. Christy, the minstrel singer. The first was dated February 23, 1850, and it offers the minstrel the opportunity of being the first to sing "Camptown Races" and "Dolly Day." The original of this letter is in the Library of Congress. Two of the letters to Christy are now at the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino, California. These are dated June 12 and June 20, 1851, and they shed light on Foster's financial relations with the famous singer. It is not known where the original of the fourth letter to Christy may be. This letter, as quoted by Harold Vincent Milligan in his biography of Foster (p. 70), is dated May 25, 1852, and asks Christy to allow Foster to put his own name on "Old Folks at Home." (It had originally been published as a composition of Christy's.)

The three other previously known letters include one written to Morrison from Cincinnati in 1849 (the original apparently sent by Morrison to a correspondent in St. Louis in 1865); a letter to Foster's friend, William Hamilton (1857), now in the possession of Hamilton's grandson; and a letter to the editor of *The Musical World and Times*, printed in the February 26, 1853 issue of that journal.

Recently there have come to light two further letters written by Stephen Foster. These documents were formerly in the possession of Mrs. Robert E. Brooke, of Birdsboro, Pennsylvania (a granddaughter of Ann Eliza Foster Buchanan, Stephen's sister), and they have lately been acquired by Foster Hall. These letters were written to Ann Eliza, and they are highly important in shedding light on periods of Foster's career on which previous information had been meager.

The first letter was dated "Pittsburgh, Sep. 15, 1845," about a year before Stephen went to Cincinnati to act as bookkeeper for his brother Dunning. This was at a time when the Foster family was apparently concerned about Stephen's finding suitable occupation. In March 1846, it was learned that Stephen had failed to secure an appointment to West Point, and it was also during these years that the young composer was writing songs for the "Knights of the S. T.," among them "Lou'siana Belle" and "Old Uncle Ned." It may be that "Oh! Susanna" dates from these years, even though the earliest known edition of the song was not issued until February 1848.

The letter was apparently addressed to Ann Eliza at Paradise, Pennsylvania, where the Buchanans had moved as early as 1843.

Pittsburgh Sep. 15, 1845

My Dear Sister

In one of your letters you expressed a desire that I should compose for you some organ music but as I have no knowledge of that instrument I have thought it advisable not to expose my ignorance. I have, however, seen Mr. Mellor who has promised to lend me some music that he thinks will suit, which I will copy and send to you.

Henry has written home saying that he would like to change places with some person until he may have time to come to Pitt. and rest himself, and as it would be a very pleasant change I have thought of taking his place in Washington. If I do so I will, no doubt, have an opportunity of visiting you. He seems to think that there is no chance of advancement in the office which he now holds and if he can get a good situation here he will let me make a permanent [sic] stay at Wash<sup>n</sup>.

We have received one letter from Dunning since he left us—I suppose he

visited Paradise on his way east—he had not, when he wrote, visited Philadelphia, where (as you must know) his true-love is staying.

I am writing amidst the bustle of the Hope ware-house, you must therefore forgive my haste.

We are all well excepting little Tom, who has had quite a fever but in[s] now getting better.

Love to all—Your affectionate brother

Stephen.

The first paragraph of this letter is illuminating by virtue of the light it sheds on Foster's musical limitations. Ann Eliza was the organist in the little Episcopal Church at Paradise, of which her husband, Edward Buchanan (brother of James, the future President) was clergyman.

It is doubtful that Stephen went to Washington for either a temporary or a "perminent" stay, for his brother Henry held his position in the land office of the Treasury Department until 1849, when he was removed by Thomas Ewing, who had become Secretary of the newly created Department of the Interior upon Zachary Taylor's accession to the Presidency.

Brother Dunning, who had not visited "his true-love" in Philadelphia, was at this time engaged in the river traffic. In 1846 he entered a partnership in Cincinnati as a commission merchant, and it was for that enterprise that Stephen joined him in Cincinnati late in 1846, or early in 1847.

The "Hope ware-house" was Morrison's place of business, the establishment of Pollard McCormick, whose employ Morrison entered in 1839, and where, according to Morrison's mother, "he has no lamp-lighting, shutting up, ware house cleaning, or anything else to abuse his clothes, and is treated with much respect, as he performs his duties promptly and well." Morrison apparently had room at the warehouse for his "unoccupied" brother Stephen.

"Little Tom" was Stephen's nephew, the son of Henrietta Foster Wick (grandmother of Henrietta Crosman). Henrietta was a widow when Stephen wrote this letter. Her first husband died in 1842, and she remained a widow until 1847, when she married Jesse Thornton.

The second letter bears even more important information than the first.

Pittsburgh July 16, 1850

My dear Sister

I write to say that I am to be married on Monday next to Miss Jane, daughter of the late Dr. McDowell of this place, and that we will start on the same evening for Baltimore and New York. The trip will be on business as well as for pleasure, as I wish to see my publishers in the east as soon as possible, therefore I

regret that I cannot, to my own advantage, pay you a visit in going, although I will pass very near your house. We will however endeavor to give you a call in returning, but this may not be for several months. We are to have but a small wedding.

With love to Mr Buchanan and the dear children

Your Affectionate Brother

Stephen.

This letter bears out the theory that Stephen's courtship of Jane McDowell was of short duration. From the tone of Stephen's letter it appears that his sister knew nothing of Jane, nor of Stephen's devotion to her. In fact, until this letter came to light, it had been impossible to find any connection of the names of Stephen Foster and Jane McDowell prior to the public announcement of the marriage that appeared in the Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal* of Wednesday, July 24, 1850. This was two days after the wedding. It is true that Dunning Foster had written to Morrison in January 1849, telling Morrison of a visit Jane McDowell was making at the home of "Mrs. Stewart" in Cincinnati, but there was no mention of Stephen in that letter.

The reference to Stephen's plans for a wedding trip are highly important, for nothing had previously been known of the honeymoon. Stephen states that the projected trip may last for several months. It actually extended for a period of over six weeks, for an entry in Morrison Foster's account book, dated September 8, 1850 (one day less than seven weeks after the wedding), reads:

Today, Stephen and Jane came to live with us.

The references to Baltimore and New York, and "my publishers in the east," tally perfectly with known facts. From the time of the publication of "Nelly Was a Lady" in 1849 by Firth, Pond & Company of New York, and of "Oh! Lemuel" by F. D. Benteen of Baltimore (January 7, 1850), Foster published exclusively with these firms for a number of years. It was on September 12, 1849, that Firth, Pond & Company offered to pay Foster a royalty of two cents a copy on all his songs published by that firm in the future, and on December 3 a formal contract was signed.

Still more important in regard to Stephen's references to his coming honeymoon, are the doubts they cast on the theory that he visited Bardstown, Kentucky, during his wedding trip. One of the traditions in con-

nection with "My Old Kentucky Home" in Bardstown (the home of Foster's cousins, the Rowans, which is said to have furnished the inspiration for the song) is that Stephen visited his cousins during his honeymoon in 1850. This belief had already been weakened by evidence that John Rowan, junior, who succeeded to the estate in 1843, was probably in Europe until 1852. Stephen's letter seems to discredit the theory of a honeymoon visit to Bardstown still further.

So much for letters written by Stephen Foster himself—added to these are two letters written by his brother, Henry, both of which have recently been acquired by Foster Hall. Each was written shortly after Stephen's death, and, inasmuch as most of the previously known accounts of Foster's tragic end were written in later years, these letters (except for the hospital records and George Cooper's brief messages about Stephen's illness and death) become the nearest approach to contemporary testimony on the circumstances of Foster's last days. The first of Henry's letters was written to Mrs. Susan G. Beach, and until its acquisition by Foster Hall, it has been in the possession of Mrs. Beach's granddaughter, Mrs. Fred S. Mack, of Kingston, Pa. The second letter was written to Ann Eliza Foster Buchanan, and came later into the possession of her granddaughter, Mrs. Robert E. Brooke.

The letter to Mrs. Beach was written ten days after Stephen's death.

Elm Cottage, Jany 23rd, 1864.

Mrs Susan G Beach—

Dr Friend—I had resumed business but a few days after the severe attack of Soar throat, when I received three Telegraphic despatches *all at once*, two of them from Mr Geo Cooper of New York, and one from my Brother in Cleveland, Oh. [Morrison Foster]—one of Mr Coopers dated N Y Dec 11. read.

"Your Brother Stephen is very sick and wishes to see you".

The other dated the 14th Dec was.

*"Stephen is dead"*

My brothers read "Stephen is dead, meet me in New York on Saturday"

I left on Friday afternoon at four o'clock and arrived in N York on Saturday at noon with a severe head ache, Met my brother at St Nicholas Hotel, who informed me we would return the same evening, by way of the Allentown route. Fortunately by a misunderstanding between the undertaker and ourselves, we missed the train which was the one that met with that terrible accident at one of the bridges over Spruce Creek on the Pa Rail Road. we took the Phila train and remained at Phila on Sunday, when we heard of the accident & congratulated ourselves upon our fortunate escape.

From the interest you manifested to have my brothers songs, I know you will be gratified by a statement from me of the particulars of his death. He had

been going about feeling quite unwell for several days, when on Saturday evening he retired early and requested the Landlord of the Hotel not to have him disturbed in the morning, about ten o'clock the next morning he opened his door and spoke to the chamber maid to bring him a glass of water, and turned to go back, when he fell as if he had been shot, and cut his head badly, a surgeon was sent for immediately, who dressed his wounds, on Monday & tuesday he improved and spoke of being out again in a few days, on Wednesday he was propped up in his bed and was having his wounds dressed when he fainted away and *never revived again*. I have no doubt that owing to the state of his system, and the loss of blood, there was not strength sufficient left him to rally after fainting away.

owing to the desire of his musical friends to manifest their appreciation of his talents, we had him buried from Trinity Church where the ceremonies were exceedingly solemn, & at his grave I was completely overcome by *his loss*, and the beautiful music of the Brass Band performing his quartett, called "Come where my love lies dreaming"

My anxiety about him is *now all over*, He was a firm believare in the gospel of Christ. & ever had an abiding confidence in his mercy.

In hopes you are all well,—

I remain your friend

Henry. B. Foster

Henry obviously makes an inadvertent error when he speaks of the telegrams dated "Dec" 11th and 14th. From the records of Bellevue Hospital, New York, it is known that Stephen was admitted to its wards on *January 10*, and died there *January 13*, 1864. The correspondence between George Cooper and Morrison Foster is still in existence. First comes a letter dated January 12, stating that Stephen is sick at Bellevue Hospital. This was followed by a telegram dated January 14 reading: "Stephen is dead. Come on."

The chronology of Henry's account tallies with the hospital records. Although he fails to mention Stephen's going to Bellevue Hospital in the Beach letter, he does refer to it in the second letter, which we shall quote presently. There he states that Stephen was taken to the hospital Sunday morning and died on Wednesday, Sunday being the tenth of the month and Wednesday the thirteenth. It is a pity that Henry does not mention the name of the "Hotel" in which Stephen was living. Had he done so he would have solved a mystery that has been troubling Foster students for many years, although it is generally believed that Stephen met his accident at a hotel on the lower Bowery that was known under the successive names of North American Hotel, Moss's Hotel, and New England Hotel.

The reference to the railroad wreck is interesting. This incident was

referred to in Milligan's biography, although Milligan states that the accident occurred at Tyrone, where the railroad crosses the *Little Juniata* River.

The second letter of Henry's, addressed to Ann Eliza, was written on February 4. It is even more important than the "Beach" letter, for it shows something of the family attitude towards Stephen. Henry assures Ann Eliza that "Stevey" had been boarding at a "very respectable Hotel," and that he owed nothing to the landlord or "any one else that we knew of."

Elm Cottage near Pittsburgh Feby 4th/ 64

My Dear Sister

I received your very welcom letter of the 1st inst to day and hasten to reply, in hopes I may in some measure relieve your sorrow by the assurance that we found everything connected with Stevey's life and death in New York much better than we had expcted [sic], he had been boarding at a very respectable Hotel and did not owe the Landlord a cent or any one else that we knew of, had retired early to bed on Saturday evening, the following morning opened his door and spoke to the chaimbermaid and turned to go back to his bed when he fell as if he had been shot striking his head on the chamber, a surgeon was procured immediately and his wounds dressed, he then sent for his friend Mr. Geo Cooper (as fine a little gentleman as I ever met) who telegraphed to Morrison and I, and persuaded Stevey to go with him in a carriage to the Hospital where he would be better attended to. on Tuesday he was much better, and Mr Cooper was with him. on Wednesday, he was propped up and after having taken some soup was quite cheerful. when they commenced dressing his wounds and just as the person was washing out the rag, without Stevey saying a word he fainted away and never came to again.

There is something particularly sad about his life and death, yes! poetically Sad, and I shall never again admire the beauties of nature without being reminded of some of his beautif [sic] songs, such as

"when Spring time comes Gentle Annie,  
and the wild flower scatters oe'r the plain.

we shall never more behold thee

or see thy lovely face again.

or

"I see her still in my dreams,  
in my dreams,

By the meadow and the streams,

Our dear Mother said she could not endure it, in case Stevey was taken from her, to hear his songs. and we now realize what she sadly anticipated, oh! my dear sister it was heart rending to hear the band play "Come where my love lies dreaming as they lowered him into his grave, oh! I hope he is now happy, and that our prayers in his behalf have been heard in Heaven.

Your poetry is beautiful and appropriate, and with  
Respects to Mr Buchanan  
& love to the balance of  
the family I remain your

affectionate Brother

Henry B Foster

These four letters are indeed an important addition to the existing  
contemporary documents on Foster's life and death. They shed light on  
matters that had formerly been the subject of mere guess-work.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EARLY FRENCH PSALTER

By WALDO SELDEN PRATT

WHAT we now call a "tune" is technically a small melodic and harmonic form, so fitted to metrical stanzas as to facilitate domestic and church song. In spite of its brevity, it is a form with a long history, reaching back to the 16th century, if not beyond. In the Reformation era it had a significance almost incredible in our present sophisticated age, not only as a cherished medium of devotion, but as a novel artistic product. Besides linking itself with intense personal feeling and drawing multitudes into sympathetic contact, it apparently played a part in hastening the transformation of musical method that was characteristic of its time. Attention to it was notable in all the three leading branches of Protestantism, the German or Lutheran, the French or Reformed, and the English or Anglican, though with some differences in detail.<sup>1</sup> At the outset the three styles adopted were more distinct than is usually recognized. Many musicians know something of the German and the English, but few give proportionate attention to the French. One difficulty for us in America is that (so far as I know) the music of the original French Psalter as a whole is not accessible in English. Even intelligent references to it are rather rare. Yet this Psalter exhibited a style of much individuality and has continued to this day to exert a widespread power. It is at least worthy of respect and study.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to the Reformation in general, see able summaries in G. P. Fisher, *History of the Reformation*, rev. ed. 1906, Williston Walker, *The Reformation*, 1900, and articles in various encyclopedias. As to the use of popular song then see Edward Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church*, 1902, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Among the older writers, see Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, 1843-7, I. pp. 228-265. Some points are touched in Livingston, *The Scottish Psalter*, 1864.

The standard treatise on the French Psalter is O. Douen, *Clément Marot et le psautier huguenot*, 1878-9, which embodies the acute researches of Bovet. Upon this great work are based various articles in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, especially those by Gustave Chouquet.

Among popular summaries of parts of Douen's elaborate work the following may be named: Six articles by G. A. Crawford in *The Musical Times*, 1881; a paper by G. R. Woodward in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (London), 1907-8; and three lectures by L. F. Benson in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 1919. In 1932 the present writer gave a lecture, which was printed among the pamphlets of the Hymn Society of New York.

The completed French Psalter was issued in 1562, having been preceded by sundry partial editions since 1539—that of 1551 being specially important. Its significance lies in three separate directions—(1) in the quality of its poetic text, (2) in the number, variety and style of its 125 tunes, and (3) in the phenomenal range and persistence of its actual use. The first two of these are plainly primary and the reason for the third. Adequately to deal with them, however, would require a book. In the present article only severely condensed statements are possible, especially regarding the first two points. But the mere fact that this Psalter early affected many countries and that it has remained in use for almost four centuries is by itself evidence that in it lay a singular vitality.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE VERSIFIED TEXT

The 152 versions constituting the text of the Psalter (including the *Nunc dimittis* and the Decalogue) came wholly from two poets, Clément Marot (1497-1544) and Théodore de Bèze or Beza (1519-1605). As a favorite of Francis I and his sister, Marguerite d'Alençon (later Queen of Navarre), Marot stood out as the leading French poet of his time. From about 1533 he undertook translating selected Psalms into verse, as he had earlier done for poems from Latin, Greek and Italian literature. As his versions accumulated, they appealed strongly to the court circle for their novel dignity and their artistic verve. Though not put into print by Marot for ten years, knowledge of them spread elsewhere, so that in 1539, for example, some of them, curiously altered in form, reached Strasbourg by way of Antwerp and were there published with music. In 1542 Marot issued thirty Psalms at Paris in his authentic text. This book, though commended by the French king and even by the Emperor Charles V, on the technical ground that it was a rendering of Scripture into the vernacular led to Marot's indictment for heresy by the Sorbonne and his hasty flight to Geneva to save his life. There, at Calvin's desire, he raised the number of his versions to 51, all of which were adopted by Calvin as the permanent nucleus for a complete Psalter. Late in 1543 Marot left Geneva for Savoy and Piedmont, in

<sup>3</sup> The Reformed churches in France, Holland and Great Britain long adhered tenaciously to psalmody rather than to the free hymnody fostered by Luther and his followers. This difference in literary material, however, did not prevent a generic likeness in the forms of verse and melody adopted on both sides. The Reformed usage suggests a certain analogy with the mediæval reciting of the Psalms as enjoined in the Horologion of the Eastern Church and the Breviary of the Western. Both Luther (1524) and Calvin (1564) issued commentaries on the Psalms, the latter "by far the best up to his own time" (Briggs, *Internat. Commentary*, 1906).





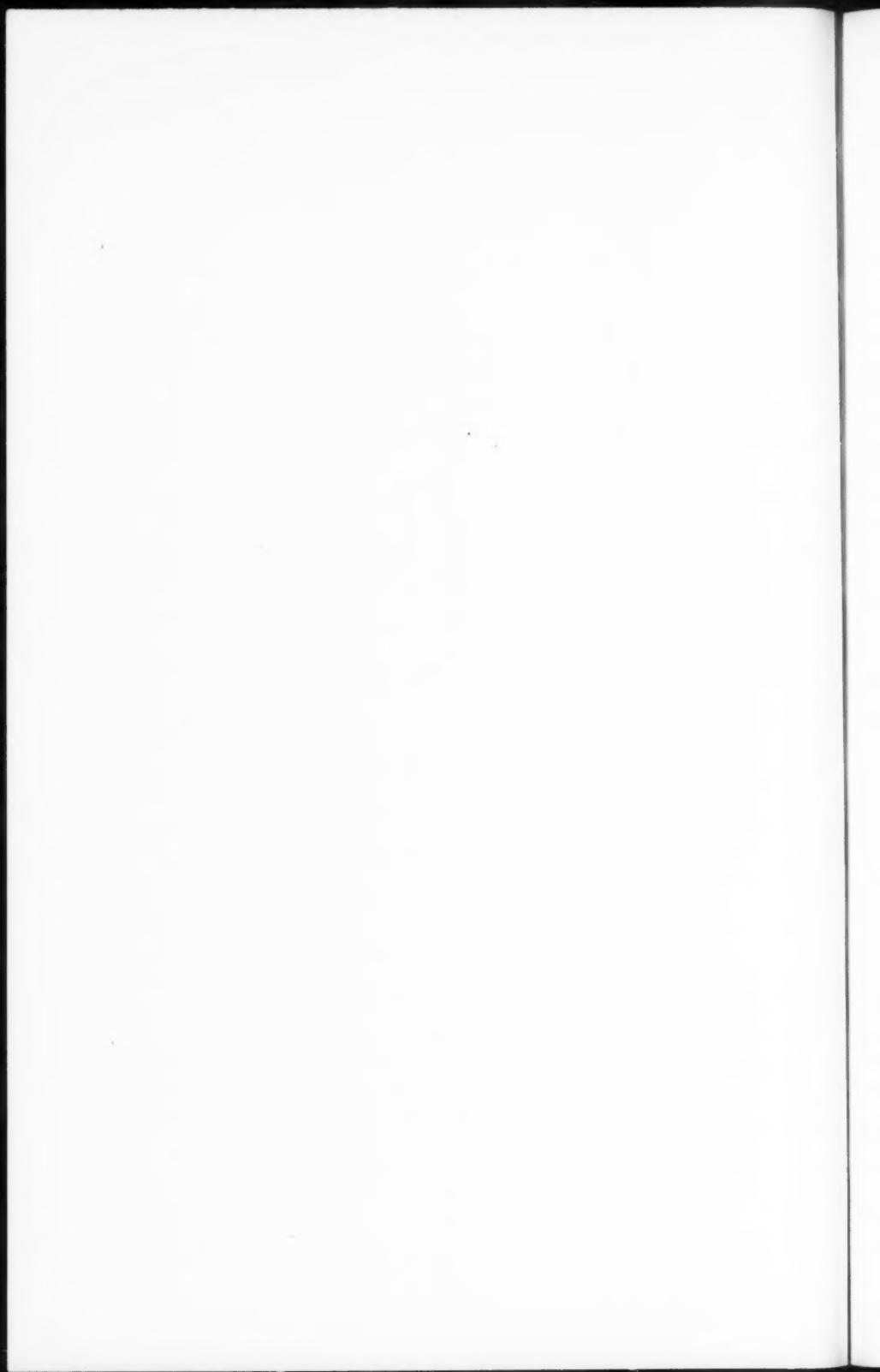
## Psalme CXIII.

Vs louez Dieu ses serviteurs, Louz  
 De la louange de son nom Vos  
 es il en est digné, Sa sainte hauls  
 stre bouche soit pleine.  
 ce maieste Soit exalte en sa grādeur  
 Dez maintenant et sans cesse.

Tant qu'attend le soleil son cours  
 Dessus toute la terre  
 Le nom de dieu par tout resuit  
 Plain de magnificence:

Page 40 of Calvin's First Psalter, 1539,  
showing the melody for Psalm CXIII.

(Original in the State Library, Munich)



1544 suddenly dying at Turin, not yet fifty years old. His Psalm-versions were among his last works, embodying his mature artistic expertness and revealing a depth of religious feeling not always attributed to him.

For some years Calvin—somewhat like Luther twenty years earlier—was at a loss to find a successor-poet. But in 1548 the youthful and cultured Beza cast in his lot with the Reform. To him Calvin soon committed the completion of the Psalter text, which was accomplished in part in 1551-4 and in whole before 1562. Beza was no such poetic genius as Marot, but was better trained as a scholar and literary worker. He sought with loyalty and with much ingenuity to adhere to the plan and method of his predecessor. Here, as later otherwise, he displayed that practical energy which, after Calvin's death in 1564, made him the natural leader of the Huguenot party.<sup>4</sup>

The lyrical patterns used by the two poets had a direct bearing on the music. They represent a tradition whose roots reach far back into the past, perhaps as far as the 12th century. This tradition tended towards great freedom in versification. So in the poetry of the Psalter we find not only iambics, but trochaics and even anapæstics, a copious intermixture of lines with feminine endings as well as masculine, lines of every length from four to thirteen syllables, stanzas of from four to twelve lines, and much variety in the grouping of lines by means of rhyme. Every one of these features is necessarily reflected in the structure of the tunes. Hence among the 125 tunes there are no less than 110 distinct "meters." This diversity of form exceeds what appears in German hymnody of the period and is in startling contrast with the monotony of the English Psalter, though somewhat imitated in the Scottish.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE MUSIC AS FINALLY ADOPTED

The melodies which became permanent were gradually compiled and shaped from 1539 onward. Of the final 125, 39 came from before

<sup>4</sup> Douen devotes fourteen chapters to Marot and two to Beza. On Marot, see concise summary in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and on Beza one in Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*.

<sup>5</sup> The remarkable Psalter of Sir Philip Sidney and his sister, Duchess of Pembroke, dating from about 1590, though not devised for popular song, brilliantly displayed the capacity of English verse to match the variety and flexibility of the French, as was later shown by several other writers. The emancipation of the forms of English hymnody, however, was delayed until the later 18th century and the earlier 19th.

1551, 46 were added in 1551, and 40 more in 1562. In the early period, through a somewhat intricate process of experimentation, some 80 tunes were tried out, half being laid aside and half retained. From the original Strasbourg book about a dozen of Alsatian derivation passed over into French usage.<sup>6</sup> But from 1542 all publication was at Geneva and under French direction. The editor there until 1557 was Louis Bourgeois, employed by the City Council and high in Calvin's favor.<sup>7</sup> The final editor in 1562 was probably Pierre Dubuisson, then choirmaster at the Cathedral. He plainly sought to maintain the style established by Bourgeois, though with hardly equal ability.

No brief characterization of the melodies is possible. They embody impulses and features derived sometimes from the older ecclesiastical song, sometimes from the modified folk-music of secular *chansons*. Relatively few appear to be taken bodily from extant originals. The impression is rather of a free and thoughtful fitting of phrase to verse with constant reference to actual use in an age when expertness in singing was more or less universal. All the usual Gregorian modes are represented. But Douen believes that the style is on the whole more modern than mediæval. There are 35 tunes that are frankly major and the division of the rest between modal and a form of minor depends somewhat on how far the principles of *musica ficta* were applied.

However this may be, a striking point is that every phrase is cast in some studied pattern of long and short tones, of which there are nearly 100 varieties, often with decided grace or vigor, even with a notable vivacity of effect. Following the form of the verse, there are many long lines and long stanzas. Most of the tunes exceed the characteristic English length of 56 tones—25 of them ranging from 70 to 92 tones. Many of these expanded melodies have a grand and rugged majesty, while some of the shorter ones, when sung with elastic

<sup>6</sup> Sir R. R. Terry has ably set forth the contents of this 1539 book both in an address before the Musical Association in 1930 and in his *Calvin's First Psalter*, 1932, in the latter reproducing the words and music in facsimile. No one doubts that Calvin was connected with this publication, but no author or editor is named. The drafting of the music may have been by Matthias Greiter, about whom see Théodore Gérold, *Les plus anciennes mélodies de l'Église protestante de Strasbourg et leurs auteurs*, 1928.

<sup>7</sup> Two other names have been used in this connection. One is Guillaume Franc, who came to Geneva the same year with Bourgeois (1541), but removed to Lausanne in 1545, where he worked upon an independent Psalter (not known except through a composite book printed in 1565). The other name is Claude Goudimel, who certainly had no part in framing the Psalter melodies, though in 1562 and more fully in 1564 he provided these melodies with four-part harmony of such purity that, after he was killed in 1572, his versions were often republished in France and elsewhere even until after 1800.

sympathy, have a haunting delicacy and charm. Everywhere it is clear that the aim is to make each Psalm individual and rememberable in both verse and music.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE RANGE OF THE PSALTER'S INFLUENCE

The French Psalter was one of the earliest of the Reformation manuals of popular song and the only one that has endured practically unchanged until recent times. Besides its intrinsic poetic and musical worth, it is unique in the extent of its adoption, at first among the Huguenots of France and then, through literal translation, in many other countries. Its popularity and persistence constitute a literary and musical phenomenon of great importance, though often overlooked. Even in Germany its influence interlocked with that of the Lutheran hymns and chorales. It was to some extent the model and occasion of the first British Psalters. Its seminal vigor was even greater elsewhere.

While the Psalter was being developed (before 1562), over 30 portions of it were published. In the one year 1562, when it became complete, at least 25 editions appeared. Between 1562 and 1599, when the Edict of Toleration became effective, in spite of much civil strife, some 80 others were added. From 1600 to 1685, when the Edict was revoked, at least 90 more are counted. Thus there were about 225 separate publications during the formal existence of Huguenotism in France—not to speak of the many since 1685. How many copies these printings represent cannot be estimated, but the total must exceed a million, perhaps two. Huguenotism held its place in France through at least five generations, with some millions of adherents. Among all these the Psalter was a precious possession, second in estimation only to the Bible.<sup>9</sup>

This statement refers only to books in French. But French Protestantism had many and close relations elsewhere. Thus the use and influence of the Psalter were prodigiously extended through full trans-

<sup>8</sup> The tunes were officially set forth as melodies only. But they were also treated in harmony and counterpoint. Bourgeois himself published settings of some eighty of them in 1547 and 1561, while Goudimel covered them all in 1564. Douen cites nearly twenty other composers who thus developed them within a half-century (with about 235 pp. of examples in full). The leading names are Jannequin, Le Jeune, Lassus and especially Sweelinck. One may note, further, that in Bach's St. Matthew Passion the great chorus closing Part I is built upon the stirring Huguenot "Battle Song" (Ps. 68).

<sup>9</sup> Late in the 17th century hymns began to be appended to the Psalter, so that the title "Psalmes et Cantiques" became increasingly common—exactly parallelling the "Psalms and Hymns" in contemporaneous English usage.

lation into other languages. Douen lists such translations (with the music) into over twenty tongues and dialects—Dutch, Flemish, German, English, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Swiss, Gascon, two forms of old French, Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Slavic, Bantu, Tamil, Malay, Persian, besides Latin and Hebrew. The Dutch version passed through some thirty editions and the German at least twenty. All this points to an immense circulation outside of France.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest of these foreign renderings was that into Dutch by Datheen (1564). This soon became the official manual of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands and so continues, though revised and extended by added hymns. From this came versions for use in Dutch colonies in Asia, and accounts for its early use in Dutch settlements in America (1623-64).

Next came the translation into German by Lobwasser (1573). In spite of the early antagonism between Lutheranism and Calvinism, the latter penetrated deeply into Germany and has remained active. Lobwasser's work had wide circulation for two centuries or more. This accounts for the use of French melodies by German composers.

In England a complete translation of the French book was made in 1592, but had only slight influence. The main impact of the French music was felt much earlier. In view of the Marian persecution, British refugees began as early as 1550 to flee to Frankfort and Geneva. There they grew familiar with the usages of Calvinistic churches. Some of them had in hand about 40 metrical Psalms by Thomas Sternhold (from about 1547), with a few by John Hopkins (after Sternhold's death in 1549), and were eager to build out a complete English Psalter parallel to the French. By 1561 the so-called "Anglo-Genevan Psalter" covered 87 Psalms. Several poets were at work. Some of them adhered to the style already set by Sternhold and Hopkins. Others, notably Kethe and Whittingham, undertook to translate or imitate poems from the French (edition of 1551). Through these latter and also through whoever acted as musical editor was set up a definite nexus between the French and the British Psalters.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> As yet I have been unable to group these translations by date. Some of them were plainly made early, to meet needs in countries where the Reformed faith and practice took root promptly. But many of them were occasioned by missionary enterprises as late as the 19th century, radiating from France, Holland or Switzerland.

<sup>11</sup> See especially, John Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd ed. 1907, art. "Old Version," and Livingston, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6, 39-42 and 70.

Upon this Anglo-Genevan basis, soon after Elizabeth's accession in 1558, both English and Scottish committees speedily wrought out complete versions, the English appearing in 1562 and the Scottish in 1564. These were enough alike to be counted as variants, though they differed widely in part. The English had less than 50 tunes (for Psalms proper), while the Scottish had over 100. The English borrowed 13 tunes from the French and the Scottish 31, often with some changes in meter. The English version had a long history (last edition in 1828), though from 1696 in competition with the "New Version" of Tate and Brady and from 1719 somewhat with the Psalms of Dr. Watts. The Scottish, on the other hand, was displaced as early as 1650 by a totally different version.

Still a third English Psalter deserves mention, that of Henry Ainsworth, issued in 1612 at Amsterdam for the "separatist" refugees in Holland. This singular book was so much favored in England that it ran through six editions before 1700. It had but 39 tunes, of which 19 were taken from the French.<sup>12</sup>

Disregarding duplicates, through these three books 42 different French tunes were thus introduced into British knowledge and use. In time the whole collection became known to individuals through the importation of books and the arrival of Huguenot immigrants in England.<sup>13</sup>

#### A CONCLUDING WORD

The points which are here set down in bare outline seem to warrant the view that the French Psalter is more of a significant landmark than is generally realized, so that its music should be accessible for English and American students. It is true that its primary value is as an example of the style and taste of a period long past. Yet many of its tunes have a surprising appeal to us of today. Most musicians know only two of these—"Old 100th" (the French 134th) and "Old 124th" or "Toulon." The former deserves to be restored to its original sturdy form. Others that are finer and more characteristic might well be revived. Of course, the prevailing popular taste now finds difficulty with modal or even minor melodies. But the many majors are worth con-

<sup>12</sup> See W. S. Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims*, 1921, giving the tunes in full (a few appended notes require slight correction). Ainsworth's book was used at Plymouth (Mass.) from 1620 till 1692.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, some references in the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn.

sideration by both hymn-writers and composers—the former to broaden their range of verse-forms, the latter to find interesting problems in melody and harmony.

At all events, that which has had loving and impressive use through four centuries and in three or four continents merits full recognition and thoughtful regard.

## THE ORIGIN OF OPERA BUFFA

By RUGGERO VENÉ

AT THE END of the sixteenth century, when the *Commedia dell' Arte* attained its fullest splendor, when troops of comedians were wandering through Italy amid the applause of the masses, or were crossing the Alps, summoned to nuptial festivities by the kings of France, Orazio Vecchi, an unchurchly canon of Modena, was having his *Amfiparnaso, commedia armonica*, performed in the city of his ministrations. The performance took place in 1595; the work was printed at Venice in 1597. *L'Amfiparnaso* is the most complete and ambitious example of the "dramatic madrigal," which, with its tendency to fuse poetry and music into a histrionic art, prefigured the music-drama.<sup>1</sup>

The poetic text of the work, with its divisions into acts and scenes and with its dialogue entrusted to masks, was a derivation of the *Commedia dell' Arte*. The music, treated in the vocal polyphonic-style of the dramatic madrigal, called for no new methods of performance. Only five voices were needed to bear the musical burden. Words supposedly uttered by a female character were sung now by the soprano, now by the bass. Music and poetry merged, without either's fully performing the special dramatic function of which it was capable. The music lacked statement and answer, both necessary for dialogue and for action. It was concerned only with harmony, woven out of florid vocal-lines. It was used to underscore some desired bit of delineation, or to abet, here and there, exaggerated buffoonery in the poetic banter. The intention of the composer, who was both musician and poet, was to link harmony to the implied action, and thus color it and add to its expressiveness.

The lot of the *Amfiparnaso* was not fortunate. While tragic opera acquired more and more enthusiastic cultivators, and flourished, the comic spirit sank into neglect.

The whole century went by before there was a renascence. It is only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Naples, that we find the spirit abroad once more, now unassociated with Vecchi's old form of the *commedia armonica*. We are confronted with a Neapolitan product, original, natural, and sincere. To be able to understand the reason and occasion for its birth, it will be necessary to take into consideration the

<sup>1</sup> Presented by The Dessoff Choirs, Cond. Margarete Dessoff. (First performance by the organization, March 13, 1933, New York.)

state, at the end of the seventeenth century, of the early opera, which was getting ready to reveal itself in this new guise.

\* \* \*

The subjects of the earlier works, especially of those presented in Naples during the second half of the seventeenth century, were almost all mythological or heroic. But the poets did not know how to make the gods and heroes live again in a baroque world; they only borrowed costumes and names with which to disguise men of their own time. As a result, an incongruous contrast arose between the heroic and noble strutting of the actors and the mellifluous singing that issued from them. The upshot was parody rather than true drama.

As a respite to the audience from the sustained high-flown antics of the chief characters, the playwrights introduced, as comic stock-characters, two servants: a page and a nurse. A scene between these two was evolved, which, although conventionalized, bordered very closely upon reality. From characters of this type, or rather from their love-passages, which were interposed between the heroic scenes enacted by their masters, musical comedy was born. Thus we can see that, at the end of the seventeenth century, opera gave the appearance of having no vitality left: the librettists resorted to conceits while the musicians sought consolation in trills and flourishes. It is by no means a rare thing for a composer to impose his whims upon a librettist (so, for that matter, do singers impose theirs). What the average composer wants most is a pretext for bringing his melodic skill into play and for exhibiting his stock of themes. All this was especially true at the time with which we are dealing. As a consequence, the librettist was then of no importance. Even the librettists who stand out most from the period, Andrea Perrucci and Silvio Stampiglia (to whose masterpiece, *La caduta dei Decemviri*, Scarlatti composed the music) are not of much value.

Alongside this degenerate style of opera, a new form of drama was born right among the common people, a form essentially Neapolitan—the *opera buffa*, destined little by little to take on the dignity of an art-form. It ultimately forged its way gloriously on to the best stages of Europe.

One may divide the development of the *opera buffa* into three periods.

\* \* \*

According to Napoli-Signorelli,<sup>2</sup> the first *opera buffa* libretto was that written by Francesco Antonio Tullio for *Le finziune abbentorate*, a work presented in 1710 in the Teatro dei Fiorentini. According to Scherillo,<sup>3</sup> however, it was preceded by *Patrò Calienno de la Costa*, text by "Agasippo Mercotellis" (an anagrammatic pseudonym adopted by the poet Giuseppe Martoscelli), music by Antonio Orefici, a work said to have been presented in October 1709, also at the Teatro dei Fiorentini. However this may be, *opera buffa* retained many earmarks of the *commedia delle maschere*. In contrast to the *opera seria*, it was of purely popular origin: it was an Arcadian derivative, setting on the stage scenes from actual Neapolitan life. It was in sharp antithesis to the ridiculous imaginings of the successors to Perrucci and Stampiglia and of the contemporaries of Apostolo Zeno.

The comedies of Mercotellis and Tullio are not essentially organic creations: they often lack coherence. But, to make amends, they possess an exuberance that could not have been expected from the older opera. Instead of Greek and Roman heroes, members of the Neapolitan populace tread the boards. The music they sing and the dialect they speak is absolutely without extraneous flourishes and without such contrapuntal embellishments as might have been introduced to display a composer's technical prowess. The music is natural and spontaneous: it is of the sort that flows from the hearts of the melody-loving Neapolitans.

The aristocracy, steeped in Spanish rhetoric and etiquette, was quite unable to accept this new type of popular art, a form in which a composer often introduced songs with words in dialect. But this spontaneous and popular art-expression would have prevailed in spite of the aristocracy, had it not been for the triumphs of Metastasio. With the advent of his imitations of classic tragedy, a temporary decline set in for the *opera buffa*. The characteristic Neapolitan element was attenuated; the local color faded; the *opera buffa* languished.

The principal librettists of the years of decline, which lasted from 1720 to 1730, were Bernardo Saddumene, Carlo de Palma, Francesco Oliva, and Tommaso Mariani.

\* \* \*

On August 28, 1733, in the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, between the

<sup>2</sup> Pietro Napoli-Signorelli, *Storia critica de'teatri antichi e moderni*, 1777.

<sup>3</sup> Michele Scherillo, *Storia letteraria dell'opera buffa napolitana dalle origini al principio del secolo XIX*, 1883.

acts of the drama *Il Prigioniero superbo*, set to music by Pergolesi, there was given the first performance of the *intermezzo buffo*, *La Serva Padrona*.<sup>4</sup> The text was by Gennaro Antonio Federico. Pergolesi wrote the music for it as well as for the longer work. He was then a young man of twenty-three, fresh from the Conservatorio dei poveri di Gesù Cristo. The intermezzo was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The second period had arrived.

The plot of *La Serva Padrona* is not very original: it resembles that of *Fantesca*, an intermezzo by Saddumene, whom we have just mentioned as a representative of the lackluster decade. But it is not the text that constitutes the greatest merit of the work; this is to be found in the music. In it the young maestro revealed his magnificent artistic talent, overcoming the difficulties inherent in being allowed but two characters on the stage and in having an orchestra limited to a quartet, difficulties that would have snared a lesser talent into deadly monotony.

The verses of another intermezzo, *La contadina astuta*, are attributed to Mariani. This intermezzo was introduced at some point or other during the first performance of *Adriano in Siria*, given on October 25, 1734, also at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. Pergolesi had written the music for these two works also. The intermezzo had the good fortune to be played often, interposed between the acts of various works. It reappeared later under the title, *Livietta e Tracollo*. Reclaimed and ennobled through the art of Pergolesi, Mariani, a poet surviving from the unfruitful years, was enabled to contribute to the brilliant second period.

In 1746, a company of comic actors gave a presentation of *La Serva Padrona* in Paris, at the Théâtre des Italiens. It was not well received. In 1752, however, it once more had a public performance in Paris, under the direction of Bambini. The production took place at the Opéra; the brief score unchained a veritable cataclysm. Baron von Grimm flung invectives against French music and defended Italian music with drawn sword. A purely musical question grew into a national and political one. The war of the Buffoonists and Antibuffoonists raged for a long time, finally supplanted by a still more violent strife between the partisans of Piccinni and Gluck. But in the midst of the early fighting, *La Serva Padrona* laid the foundations of French *opéra comique*.

Contributed to by Pergolesi, *opera buffa* developed with rapid strides.

<sup>4</sup> Presented by The Juilliard School of Music, New York, N. Y. (First performance by the organization, February 18, 1932.)

He put life and color into his duets, *Lo conosco a quegli occhietti*, from *La Serva Padrona*, being a perfect model of its kind.

Pergolesi's contemporaries and followers in composition included Porpora, Logroscino, Piccinni, Sacchini, and Anfossi. The librettists who particularly flourished in his time were Gennaro Antonio Federico, who wrote several prose comedies, to which the author gave modern and typically Neapolitan backgrounds,—works perhaps not overbubbling with drollery, but very pleasing in both manners and language—and Pietro Trinchera, a lovable type of poet, a zealous devotee of *opera buffa*. For him art had a fine moral purpose. True comedy, in its objectives if not in the development of its action, had to be modelled after Aristophanes. His masterpiece is *La Tavernola abentorosa*. It was his aim to raise the carefree *opera buffa* to a height approaching that attained by the comedy of classic Greece. He did not lack courage; but he was wanting in genius and in real comic-verve. Antonio Palomba, a contemporary, was one of the most prolific of librettists. He published many works in his own name, and others under a pseudonym. Still others he issued anonymously. According to Napoli-Signorelli, Palomba owed much of his success to the celebrated comedian, Napoleone Antonio Catalano. The comic extravagance of Palomba's verses found justification of a sort in the laughter Catalano evoked from the spectators. Poets and authors took their cue: each tried to outvie the other in fun and drollery. The public became so inured to trivial buffoonery and grew so insistent upon having it, that, when there was a repetition of one of the dramas of Federico, the performance fell flat.



The third period of the *opera buffa* (1750-1800) was the most brilliant of all. But it may, at the same time, be said to have been the last bright ray of Neapolitan musical art.

Francesco Cerlone and Giambattista Lorenzi were among the poets who flourished at the time. The chief composers were Saverio Zini, Palombo, Pasquale and Giuseppe Millotti, Maestri, Guglielmi, Insanguine, Fioravanti, Giovanni Paisiello, and Domenico Cimarosa. The last-named was one of the most illustrious exponents of Neapolitan comic-opera. He has no rivals, among their number, for variety and fluidity of style, or for abundance and freshness of ideas. The laughter

of Cimarosa was the outward manifestation of an inner happiness and of a humor that was serene and honest. *Il Matrimonio segreto*<sup>5</sup> remains a masterpiece.

Giovanni Paisiello had started his artistic career before Cimarosa came upon the scene. He survived him by fifteen years and witnessed the complete *débâcle* of the Neapolitan *opera buffa*. He lacks the spontaneity, elegance, fun, and vivacity of Cimarosa; he does not possess the latter's joyous good-humor. His smile is constricted by sentimentality. In fact, his best work, *La Nina pazza per amore* is a melancholy and sentimental comedy. His harmonization and instrumentation are correct, but weak, quite unlike the solid and profound writing of Jommelli or the brilliant workmanship of Cimarosa.

Lorenzi, who had been christened "the half poet" by the "divine" Metastasio, wrote about thirty libretti. He was the most genial playwright of the *teatro buffo*. *Socrates immaginario*, attributed to him by some authorities, to Galiani by others, was set to music by Paisiello. It is the masterpiece of the *teatro buffo* dramatically, and one of the most sincere productions of which Italian literature can boast.

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The *opera buffa* died away with the century that saw its birth. The next century witnessed the arrival of Rossini's *Barbiere di Siviglia* and Donizetti's *L'Elisir d'amore*, from which there issued the breath of a new era. Flown is the good-humored laughter; in its place there appears the knowing and sarcastic smile, in which there is something of feverish restlessness.

In turning to the principal librettists of this period, we can observe how comedy divided its course into two streams—the heroic and the popular. Much insight is shown in the treatment of the heroic element. But the popular element is the more healthful of the two: it is the one that gives life to comedy.

The new comic opera had nothing in common with its predecessor. Fantastic musings replaced the photographic realism of Agasippo Mercotellis. Musical comedy pursued a new direction, one that led diametrically away from the path followed by *opera buffa* during the first ten years of its history.

<sup>5</sup> Produced by the Juilliard School of Music at the Festival of Chamber Music (Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation), Washington, D. C., April 23, 1933.

## CHADWICK AND THE NEW ENGLAND CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC

By ALLAN LINCOLN LANGLEY

**I**N APRIL 1931 occurred the death of George Whitefield Chadwick, one of America's most important composers. The indifference with which his orchestral works were treated by our largely European conductors may possibly change now that he is dead. His personality and its influence, however, will live no longer except in the memories of those who were fortunate enough to be associated with him at some point of their musical careers. Such contact could be experienced fully only by those who attended, or taught at, the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, where the greater part of Chadwick's life and work had its domain. This is a partial account of one associate's recollections of the period from September 1914 to April 1920.

I entered the New England Conservatory in the fall of 1914. My father, who, notwithstanding years of preoccupation with the futilities of religious philosophy, had remained throughout a pianist of parts and was acquainted with practically every musician of consequence in Boston, accompanied me, intending to see that I be "properly" introduced to the officials, and also that I might be sure to obtain the highest quality of instruction that an intermediate student could expect. He had determined that I should study violin with Felix Winternitz, and no chance was to be taken on that! It was necessary to call on Chadwick—for thirty-four years the director of the institution. So we betook ourselves to his office, and, as it was early in the day, were immediately received.

Knowing nothing more at that time of Chadwick than that he ruled over the Conservatory and taught composition, I had myself thought of trying to make a more definite impression than that of a mere violin-student; so I had armed myself with about eight of my earliest concert-waltzes for piano solo, written out in a laborious and unprofessional hand. These I kept inconspicuously under my coat, while Chadwick greeted my father. Upon my presentation, he turned, or rather shot, an

explosive and terrifying glance in my direction. (He habitually, as I afterwards observed, stared similarly at other newcomers, probably to establish in them a wholesome respect for both himself and what he stood for.) I was modest, but not scared; his initial fierceness was immediately tinctured with a sort of diabolic humor, which I was to learn was one of his chief characteristics. After all, considering the vast amount of mediocrities whom his position compelled him to confront yearly, his particular brand of *haut ton* was hardly objectionable and certainly harmless. But no matter how well he afterward allowed you to know him—a privilege he strictly controlled—the first word of greeting, on any occasion, was seldom unaccompanied by that characteristic explosive glance.

"Well!" he barked at me, "so you're going to be a violinist?" My father inserted, "He will if he can have Winternitz." Chadwick's face temporarily clouded. (I later discovered that, since Winternitz's reputation was so high, the Conservatory collected but a small proportion of his fee; hence it was the policy to assign those who did not know exactly with whom they wished to study to instructors from whom the Conservatory reaped a greater percentage.) But the clouds quickly passed by and Chadwick conceded: "That'll be all right, I guess." We spoke of an examination. "He can play for Mr. X——; he's the only one here today." I timidly showed reluctance—I was going to study with Winternitz, and hanged if I was going to play for anyone *but* Winternitz. Chadwick understood, and granted absolution for my first rebellion: "That can wait a day or two." He talked a few minutes to my father, who finally told him I had some compositions I should like to show him. At this he whipped round again, the explosive glance quickly resolving into a paternal grin which he strove to suppress, assuming indifference: "Let's see it!" "It" was eight in number. He quickly grabbed my little pile of manuscripts. "Oh, waltzes." For the first time I heard the ancient platitude, "Well, a good waltz is better than a bad symphony!" His brow furrowed, he perused the first, skipped around in a second and third. I was trembling; though I couldn't at that time negotiate the Kreutzer *Etudes* decently, and was rather afraid of that prospective violin examination, I knew those waltzes were good. They represented my *beau idéal*. In other words, I hoped for a smashing approval. But instead of Chadwick's approval or encouragement all I got was a condescendingly pleasant "Yes—yes—very promising—yes—

yes." He handed them back. There being no reason to prolong the interview further, my father and I departed.

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Considering the size and operative detail of the Conservatory, it did not take as long as might have been expected to come into a fairly close contact with its director. For one thing, the Conservatory Orchestra, which Chadwick for the most part conducted at that time (occasionally sharing it with Wallace Goodrich or Arthur Shepherd), was his especial love. Winternitz, at the end of my first half-year, although I could scarcely negotiate a Kreutzer concerto creditably at the time, took me to Chadwick and had him place me in the orchestra. The first concert I played in (as sixteenth second-violin) was an all-Wagner program conducted by Goodrich; but practically every other concert of that year was Chadwick's. He doubtlessly had a way of impressing an imaginative student. Never an expert with the baton, and often depending on the orchestra's instinct for the incisive attack which his stick was far from unequivocally evoking, he nevertheless was a man who, despite imperfections of conducting technique, knew all there was to know in other respects about the repertoire he chose. Erudition of the thorough German sort was evident; so, too, a determination that discipline should be always maintained. He expected the orchestra to give a competent performance. He expected parts to be studied, attention to be strict, enthusiasm and effort a matter of course.

In fact, Chadwick expected too much. The wind sections of the orchestra were by no means capably manned, except for a few principals. The instructors, mostly Boston Symphony men, played subordinate parts and coached the principals in rehearsals, sometimes playing "firsts" when either the "first" part presented unusual difficulty or the student "first" had shown definite inability at rehearsal. During my five years, there was never a really good trumpeter; the flutes were ordinary—the second and third often poor—, except the instructor. That they were poor could be said also for the bassoons, and, with one exception, for the horns. In the person of Ethel Harding we boasted a first oboist far superior to many males I have heard since; and in the year 1916-1917 there was Joseph Bluhm, a first-clarinet player born to his instrument. (I wonder if Carl McKinley today remembers the romantic re-creation of the clarinet

solos in his "Indian Summer Idyl.") Bluhm disappeared along with other idealists during the conscription exigencies of June 1917; and, although in Arcieri (after I had left) he had a technically competent successor, inspirational playing never returned in like measure to the first-clarinet desk. Such was the wind set-up; the tympani and drums were with a few exceptions played by piano students pressed into service to fill the requirements of scores as they came along; and few if any of these inept percussionists subsequently entered a professional orchestra. There were never enough basses at one time, although the catalogue proudly boasted eight or nine; the second violins and violas were spotty. Owing to Josef Adamowski's superb pedagogy, the 'cello were invariably excellent; and the first violins included as a matter of course the bulk of the Conservatory's advanced technicians.

It was this sort of organization that Chadwick presided over. By judiciously combining his dynamic personality, trenchant anecdotes, fatherly regard, and whiplash irony, he made the orchestra play better than it had any reason to. Did a neophyte second-fiddler burst in with a misplaced chord at a ticklish moment, Chadwick would stop short, grunting in direful contempt: "Huh! That would sound great in the concert to-night, wouldn't it?" The offender invariably blushed and shivered, but was not likely to make the same mistake twice. Chadwick saw to it that there were sixteen sixteenths in a four-four bar-figuration, each one clear and distinguishable. He never allowed them to degenerate into a sloppy, noisy tremolo. If there were any offenders to the rule, down came the baton with a smash on the rack, with that devastating sneer: "*That's* what you get for playing *jobs!*" (intended as an allusion to the careless ways common to Conservatory violinists who presided over the three-piece café orchestras which were a feature of Boston hotels and restaurants of that time). And "Chad" could be even harder if the occasion required. Two lazy girls in the back row of the first violins, one year, had all the appearance and most of the habits of ribbon-clerks. They talked, giggled, chewed gum, and occasionally played a little, rather badly. For weeks these two had been a blot on the section. One day, out of a clear sky, "Chad" stopped abruptly and, pointing at the girls, bellowed: "You two can get out of here, and stay out. I've had enough of this!" As membership in the orchestra was the highest honor that ordinary talents could hope to attain, the humiliation of these two made an effect sufficiently salutary to last a long time.

If the orchestra was stupid, inaccurate, inattentive, surprising things

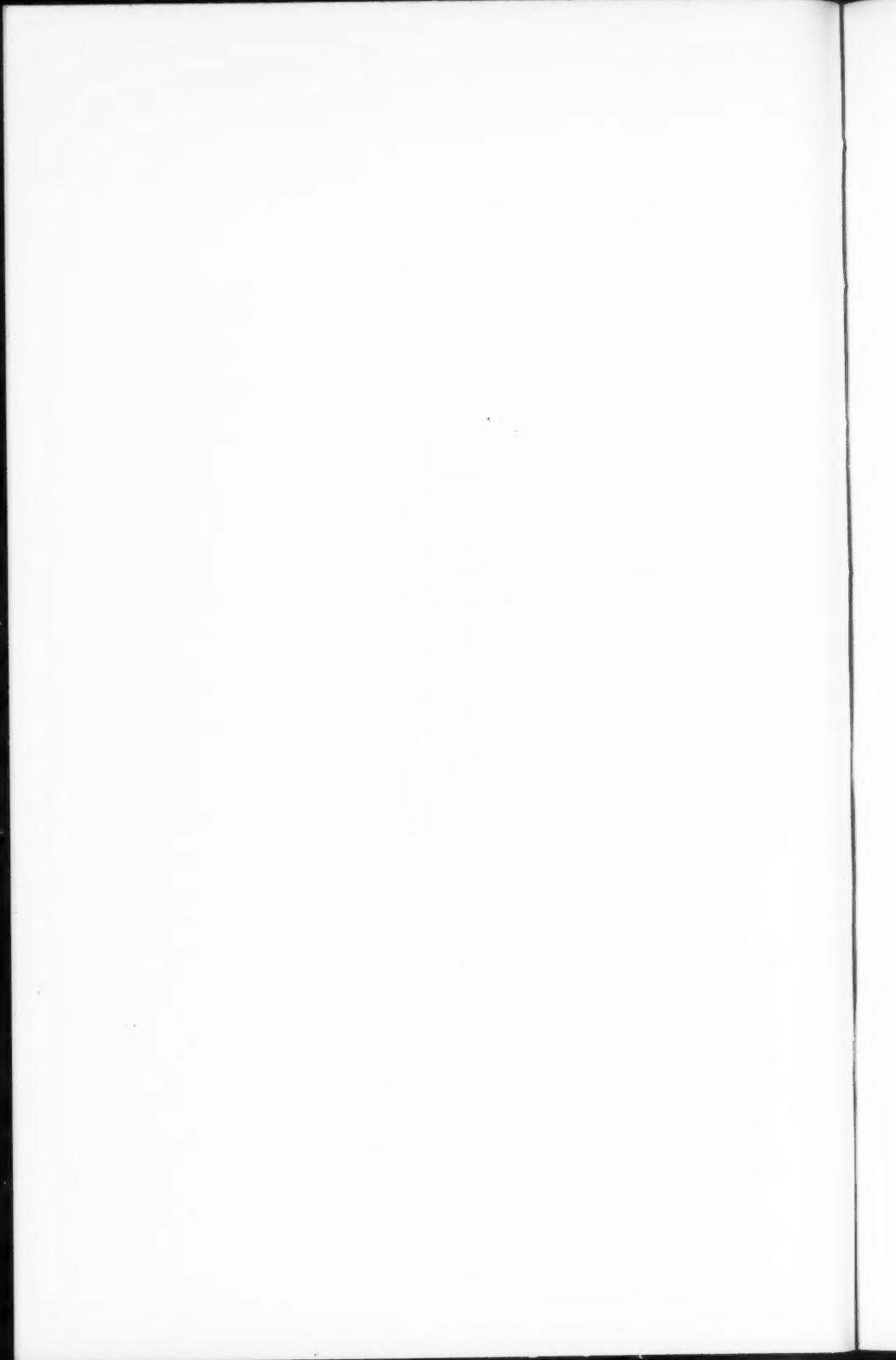






George Whitefield Chadwick

(After the portrait by Joseph R. de Camp)



could happen. One day nothing went well. Suddenly Chadwick laid down his stick and surveyed the scene with a curious mixture of sorrow and anger. We did not know which was to predominate in the approaching rebuke, and sat shamefaced and quailing. His eyes roamed the stage; then he slumped heavily in his chair and shouted: "Do you want to know something? This orchestra is *my life blood*—do you understand? My Life Blood! You're hardening my arteries—that's what you're doing!" And then, a bit ashamed of his revelation, "Well, let's get to work!"

But he had his moments of pride, in us as well as in himself. This was because, through his personality and the ideal of maintaining high traditions that he constantly instilled in us, the orchestra actually did give excellent concerts more often than not. Metropolitan critics will not allow you, nowadays, to take Goldmark's "Rustic Wedding" Symphony seriously; but I can testify that it is something of a stunt, both in technical requirements and proof of musicianship. We played it, one year, with much more *élan* and fidelity to romantic fervor than I have ever heard it played anywhere else. Chadwick told us as much: "Anyone can listen to Beethoven and enjoy it, but you have to add something to this symphony. And you did!" What we had added was belief and enthusiasm; to us, it was a big thing, hence it got big efforts. He beamed at us at the last rehearsal of Cowen's "Scandinavian" Symphony in C minor. "You know, they haven't played this across the street [Symphony Hall] for 30 years. There's probably a reason for that!" We had been working desperately over the not inconsiderable difficulties in string passage-work to which he was referring. His insinuation was partly swashbuckling, but a part of the education of students lies in their being persuaded, on occasion, that they are better than they are—it is the fillip needed for an advance. And if we were doing well what the Boston Symphony had left to gather dust for thirty years—was that not good reason to be pleased? Well, the concert was memorable—whereas, without the praise, there might have been a relapse and a poor performance, as had happened once or twice before, with something unusually difficult brought *almost* to perfection in final rehearsals but spoiled at the concert.

As a general rule, however, Chadwick by no means habitually overestimated the prowess of his orchestra. In the five years (1915-1919) that I was associated with it, we never even tried a Brahms symphony, nor nibbled at Richard Strauss, nor more than touched noses with the

modern French school. There was good common sense in this. No student orchestra can do technical justice to Strauss, nor is it musicianly enough as a whole to understand the exacting demands of Brahms's musical architecture. And no one wants to hear amateurs attempt Debussy or d'Indy. Our acquaintance with modernism was confined mostly to a few works by composers associated with the Conservatory and with the Harvard music department, aside from a few works of such men as Bruneau, Aubert, and Chabrier, which practically never appeared on the professional orchestras' programs. Thus we toiled over the long and difficult *Fantaisie Humoresque* by Arthur Shepherd, requiring a piano soloist, and gave "first performance[s] anywhere" of works by Ballantine, E. B. Hill, McKinley, and others, besides playing or reading nearly everything of Chadwick's that was played rarely elsewhere. We did part of his Second Symphony, the entire Third, the "Adonais" overture, two or three early suites, the ballads "Aghadoe" and "Lochinvar," and were also made to read his new works before they went into rehearsal with the Boston Symphony and other orchestras. In this way we were the first to let him hear "Tam O'Shanter," to my mind the most important of his later works. Of course, we could scarcely keep our places reading. He finally gave up. "It's a little beyond you!" as he said also when confining our acquaintance with his "Symphonic Sketches" to the easiest one, "Noël." However, in contrast to the general conservatism in the selection of orchestral works was our playing of the accompaniments to practically every known piano and violin concerto, as well as every aria from opera or oratorio, as there were a great number of concerts given solely for the student soloists, vocal or instrumental, to try their wings.

One reason for the orchestral conservatism with regard to modern works, was that Chadwick did not like to strain the orchestra's prowess to a point where its limitations would be discovered by the audience. Performances of contemporary American works were practically protected by the unfamiliarity of the compositions from possible comparison and consequent unfavorable criticism, even if the pieces were poorly played. Another reason for the conservatism was that in showing off an imperfect student-orchestra, one can do better by performing things the student can understand and get away with. A third was, that there were only two rehearsals of two hours each per week, and only six strictly orchestral concerts in the year. This did not give time for more than one

or two extremely difficult works to be studied. Still another reason, the validity of which I confine to my five-year direct knowledge—it may be different now—was the lack of star players who were on the verge of real professional ability. During my term, but two string-players, Sam Rosen (now of Philadelphia) and myself, were able to become regular members of the Boston Symphony direct from the Conservatory,<sup>1</sup> and, as for wind-players, only two or three received single engagements when extras were needed for a specially large orchestra, as for instance in Mahler. (Later on, at the time of the Boston Symphony union-troubles, several students were taken wholesale as stop-gaps, but only a few survived after better men were found.) That the Conservatory Orchestra maintained a comparatively high competence from year to year was because Chadwick and Goodrich, in their positions as director and dean respectively, succeeded in persuading advanced students and graduates, who lived in Boston, to continue playing in the orchestra perenially.

At the head of the orchestra, Chadwick was a good deal of a personage. He could be petty if he disliked someone; but, as long as nothing happened to arouse his temper, he maintained an attitude of fatherly dignity which, punctuated with both humor and occasionally revealed sentiment, kept the players stimulated, and all but the most gifted ones satisfied. The general *esprit* existed because each individual realized that he was playing and learning under the most important American composer of the day, who was understood to know everything from the scribbling of notes to their actual performance. Nothing got by him in a concert, whether he was infallible or not in his directions. He could distribute sour glances when egregious errors were made; he could grin with sudden appreciation at an outstandingly rendered bit of technique or shading. It delighted him to catch a player faking, and he was gleeful when he detected a subterfuge. Thus, in his "Adonais" overture, he had written a low B for the flute. Raymond Orr, the then first flute, either lacked this tone on his instrument or could not play it, so played instead the octave above. Like a flash, Chadwick: "Where'd you get it?" (the high B). Explanation, which I forgot; but the right tone was played thenceforth—whether by the instrument it was meant for, or by a clarinet, I likewise do not recall.

Owing to the fact that because of business policies there were no com-

<sup>1</sup> Another, Paul White (later of the Cincinnati Orchestra, now teaching in Rochester), was offered a second-violin position but refused it.

petitive eliminating examinations, the requirements for entrance into the Conservatory were never as strict as Chadwick probably should have liked to make them. As an administrator Chadwick had necessarily either to condone or wrestle with conditions that circumstances, not peculiar to his Conservatory alone, forced upon him. Thus he was obliged to exhibit the attributes and tactics of a dictator to a greater extent than perhaps was compatible with his artistic nature. Where he saw fit to do so, Chadwick could be an autocrat, an absolutist. That applied, with few exceptions, to the teachers as well as to the pupils. When he had his back up, it was not only inadvisable to differ with him—it was impossible.

At the New England Conservatory individual superiority, whether of teacher or pupil, stood out in strong contrast to the large number of average or mediocre talents. Among the voice teachers, White had the greatest reputation; in the large piano-faculty De Voto, Proctor, Klahre were first-class; Winternitz was supreme in the violin department, the only one at that time who with any consistency turned out pupils capable of joining symphony orchestras. Josef Adamowski constituted the entire 'cello department and could not have been improved upon; the bass, and wind-instrument departments were manned by Boston Symphony artists, one to each instrument, and consequently excellent. But, as probably less than one twentieth of the students studied wind-instruments, this does not alter the fact that the vast majority of piano, voice and violin students were but ordinary, chiefly concerned with getting teachers' diplomas and going to work in the great open spaces.

Chadwick, however fully he must have realized all this, was always trying to do things, continually planning projects that would make the actual public accomplishments of the school compare favorably with more renowned institutions. One of his dreams was to organize a great mixed chorus, capable of doing anything from oratorio to opera. He made several starts in this direction during 1915-1918. But, although the chorus participated in a few orchestra concerts, it did not become a permanent actuality till long after my day. One reason was that, with all the requirements of the set courses, there was actually not time enough for choral work. Intensive study of one instrument, with required secondary courses in piano, theory, etc., was enough to occupy any conscientious student's time; this prevented instrumental students from giving reliable help. A chorus needs more work and training than any instrumental ensemble, precisely because even good singers are apt to be

poor musicians. So, time and again, Chadwick's attempts experienced a quiet death.

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Other ideals of Chadwick's were his composition and orchestration classes, which he had invited me to attend, in accordance with his generous habit of admitting, free of charge, students he considered promising. Every European Conservatory of any standing makes a speciality of such classes which are generally presided over by composers of international reputation. I have no means of knowing how interesting or productive Chadwick's classes may have been prior to my day, or when he was much younger, stronger, and more active. When I entered the composition class, I found hardly any fellow students of marked talent with whom to compete, and hence there was very little deep interest on the part of Chadwick himself for our particular group.

In spite of Chadwick's presence, the New England Conservatory somehow did not attract composers of any remarkable talent. There were more active, interesting and gifted lads continually emerging from the classes of Davison, Hill, and Spalding, at Harvard. Of course, Chadwick knew perfectly well how to size up a student's ability, and probably nothing but a well-equipped genius would have aroused his enthusiasm; it was easy to see from the obsequiousness of the "composers" and the very character of their exercises that no real temperament existed among them. Possibly because of lack of stimulation, I did very little work of consequence myself. Besides me, there were in the class two girls whose names I forget, a bassoon-player, an organist, and Paul White, who was a really good musician. The two girls were industrious and tireless, but I don't recall a note of what they wrote (we were supposed to be able to play our stuff) nor that they ever amounted to anything; the bassoonist wrote a sentimental piece of movie-music that was subsequently read through in the orchestra, with no particular result; the organist was engaged on a terrifying religious choral-work, certainly of no more distinction than the pretty low average of American church-music. Paul White and I wrote quartets, because we were not good pianists and had enough integrity not to pretend to write, as most students do, for instruments of whose technique we had limited working-knowledge.

But, even with this rather dull material, Chadwick contrived to show himself a substantial personage in a milieu which, devoid of the adminis-

trative exigencies that took up so much of his official duties, allowed him to rest on his technical oars and give his impulses free play. He would take a piano sonata which was being written by one of the girls in a diligently eclectic manner, look over it with a sort of tolerant boredom, and, where there would be an occasional attempt at stylistic writing, jot down with his pencil two or three rhythmic variants of the scheme the girl was employing, as if to say, "You see what a lot of ways there are of doing this!" The average of us didn't see; and, of course, anyone of Chadwick's stature must have known perfectly well how few even among able students are really ingenious; but it tickled him to show us in an off-hand way just how naive most of our work was. The choral composition of the organist was more tolerable to him than most of our other work, for Chadwick wrote a great deal of choral music himself—he had been an organist during his earlier days, and consequently a good deal in and out of churches. Concerning the organist's work he said little about detail, and was evidently more interested in whether there would be a good general line, consistent balance, drama, and climax.

He was always looking, with a sort of eager wistfulness behind his brusqueness, for evidences of talent. In spite of his airy dismissal of my waltzes two years before, he had evidently not forgotten them, and his attitude towards me seemed always a bit reproachful amid its hopes and expectations, as if to say: "If you can write good melodies as easily as that, you ought to do significant things. Where are you, where's the music you ought to be writing?" The only thing of any significance I did while my class-membership lasted (except waltzes which I didn't wish to bring to Chadwick—there was nothing to correct about them, or to learn how to do better) was my B-flat quartet, three movements of which I wrote under Chadwick's supervision. In the slow movement, which was a dignifiedly romantic three-four andante, I inserted midway an *alla breve* interlude of a character totally different from that of the balance—restless and wayward. When Chadwick saw this, he bridled slightly: "What's that doing there?" he snorted. I couldn't defend it at all from any accepted traditional standpoint; I "just felt" (!) that it belonged where it was, as a contrast. So I made no attempt to argue. A week or so later I had completed the movement. I brought it in again and showed it. "So you've still got that thing there!" he objected. I answered, timidly, "But it's half of my movement." He only grunted, "Well, that's up to you"—as if to register profound contempt for upstart children too stupid not to know when they had done what he chose to

consider unpardonable. I finished the third and last movements, and from then on lost interest in the class, withdrawing from it at the end of the year. I was probably wrong, but I knew I would continue to compose whether I went to any classes or not.

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The orchestration course, which dovetailed with the composition course, was rather funny. The year that I attended the class, you were not supposed to orchestrate anything of your own, nor were any exercises given which called specifically for the actual teaching of orchestration. We were expected, apparently, to be already partially experienced and to begin work with our own ideas, under our own steam. We received a great deal of helpful comment and pointed anecdote out of Chadwick's own experience. We had tales of Richter and Jadassohn, MacDowell, and Raff. Chadwick once got quite excited over the "Lenore" symphony of the last-named composer. We learned that Dr. Muck was a student-contemporary of Chadwick's and that he had first studied to be a concert pianist. We heard a story Chadwick told of George Lowell Tracy (a Boston arranger for publishing houses—clever, but not profound) which illustrates the sort of *amour-propre*, sometimes amounting almost to conceit, that Chadwick was apt to display on occasion, perhaps because his pioneering days had been rough and his rise to eminence beset with many hardships. Tracy, said Chadwick, asked, after hearing something of Chadwick's, "Why can't I write for orchestra like that? I studied my orchestration, know what the instruments are supposed to be able to do; but I have to decide what each instrument is going to play before I begin it." Chadwick, of course, didn't tell us the answer—we were supposed to guess that Tracy couldn't do it because he wasn't a genius, while Chadwick was. In later years I have come to believe that an answer like Chadwick's is the only one to be given in similar circumstances: all distinctive orchestration is either a copy of what has previously sounded well elsewhere and so been proved, or a departure from previous example—an experiment which is in the nature of a gamble and which the genius instinctively feels will come out right.

The orchestration-work which we actually did furnished an example of Chadwick's native shrewdness, his faculty for making the most of the resources and powers that his position gave him. He brought out a little romantic oratorio-cantata, to words of David Stevens, called, I believe,

"Love's Sacrifice." Chadwick's music was prettily suitable, and the structure, of course, beyond cavil. He had written out a piano-score with elaborations and occasional red-ink directions, or hints, for instrumentation—some for thematic, some for harmonic material. This was parcelled out to us to render into complete score. I was very lucky in getting a light part with a nice chorus and an instrumental interlude with a minimum of recitative. The result was that Chadwick got a piece orchestrated that he didn't want, or hadn't time, to do himself; and we spent several weeks doing nothing at all that could test our originality in the slightest, all main points having to conform with the red-ink suggestions. Altogether it was a simple, if not entirely innocent, way of getting a job done that undoubtedly was too superficial for his robuster instincts. We heard it played through later by the orchestra, and were able to feel quite flattered.

One day I brought in the score of a military march I had written with an eye to the Boston Symphony "Pops" (which it afterwards "made"). Chadwick (*horribile dictu*) had once written a comic opera ("Tabasco") and was quite a friend of John Philip Sousa. He grabbed my march, looked at it and began to grin. "Let's see what it sounds like"—and I slid to the piano. We played it four-hands from the orchestra score. He became just like a small boy and gave a huge chuckle at the end. I had begun the main theme



So, always mindful that youthful playboys should be stripped of any possible conceit, he challenged me, over a perverse twinkle, "Did you ever hear *this*?" and drummed with immense gusto, *fortissimo*, for all the class to hear,



the "National Emblem" march of Bagley. But he didn't press the point, having got, of course, from the class the laugh he loved so dearly; and he wound up: "Got parts?" and, at my nod, "Bring them to rehearsal

next Friday—we'll see how it sounds." Later he unbent enough to conduct with the orchestra the first waltz of mine that I orchestrated, taking great pains in having the players strictly observe all expression-marks. Afterwards he said: "If you're going to insist on doing this sort of thing [writing waltzes], the best instrumentation-book for dance music is one by Bussler." I was never able to procure a copy.

In spite of the relatively limited discussion and exercises in the orchestration course, one got something out of it if one had even a small amount of penetration. Since Chadwick's own music was constantly played around the Conservatory (what composer could forbear taking advantage of such facilities?) and since Dr. Muck, who then held sway "across the street," apparently regarded Chadwick as one of a very few Americans worth supporting, one could not help realizing that whatever Chadwick wrote had a solid foundation and, in addition, displayed a nearly infallible instinct for the *mot juste* in instrumentation. Conservative Germans told me, when I was in the Boston Symphony, that Chadwick was then "about" the only American composer who knew how to write well for the horns and the woodwind, that he did not overtax them, and that his writing for them always sounded right. With the ability to compare what he put in one's ears with what less judicious composers placed there, one unconsciously absorbed undisturbing and rational theories of instrumentation, and became anxious to lead both one's ideology and idealism into channels of *competence*, as opposed to sensationalism. As an influence, Chadwick could hardly have accomplished anything much more valuable, even if he had intended to. Both by example and precept he taught economy and judgment. No inductive methods for him! He maintained that, before trying to be an innovator, one must be a capable artisan, and that there must be solidity, balance, and temperance in one's music, no matter what one's outside life may be. And his own, I say with no disrespect, was gay enough in all conscience, as a composer's should be. It is really a pity that more young American composers did not come in contact with his sane influence. Chadwick insisted, as he subsisted, on substance. He had his own feet on solid ground and never allowed anyone to attempt to fly who could not walk.

\* \* \*

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Besides attending to the routine of his dictatorship and giving time to teaching, Chadwick made a definite effort to keep in touch with any

and all extra-curricular activities that took place in the school from time to time. The parent chapter of the Sinfonia Fraternity, to which I belonged, was located at the Conservatory. The members sometimes gave special concerts and twice gave concerts of their own original compositions. Chadwick attended these as a sort of patron saint. In the year 1918, the student body suffered from enlistment depletion, in common with other organizations, so that our program included but two or three of our composers. Chadwick, for whom the fraternity had especially sent a taxi, came early, accompanied by Clayton Johns. Chadwick listened to the entire program with a great deal more attention, doubtless, than it deserved. But that was his way. He made himself feel responsible for everything connected with the Conservatory. Waiving its defects, its virtues were, after all, mostly the results of his fidelity. The concert over, he was ceremoniously assisted into his coat, and near the door stopped to speak to me about my composition: "Well, you have the form down all right; now let's see you put something a little more original into it next time." But anyone who had mastered form, even slightly, won the respect of Chadwick: he was to the last an *Altschüler*. Of another work that had just been performed Chadwick remarked to me: "That stuff isn't 'modern'—just a lot of ninth-chords; there never was a composer who didn't at some time think he had invented the ninth. I was writing that sort of thing twenty years ago!"

If it had been authentically "modern," I doubt if he would have been more enthusiastic, for he admired nothing without force, form, and solid backbone. He had small respect for the "youth-neurosis," the self-indulgence that gloats over a minor discovery, all the futility of passing pre-occupations in composition. So, while encouraging us with his presence, he kept us level-headed by honest criticism. He could dissociate a student's personality from his work, and never was guilty of log-rolling for any student-composer. He preferred to encourage small talent excessively rather than miss by indifference a large one.

# JAZZ INFLUENCE ON FRENCH MUSIC

By M. ROBERT ROGERS

## SOME PREAMBULAR OBSERVATIONS

AMERICA, during the exciting decade of the nineteen-twenties, became suddenly aware that in her popular music she had produced an idiom not only in keeping with the tempo of her life, but capable of being looked upon as an original artistic contribution from a country often regarded as excessively eclectic in cultural fields.

True, the baby among musical nations needed the prompting of her European elders before she realized that the developments she took more or less as a matter of course could be definite contributions towards the growth of an art-music. A Bohemian composer, come to teach in Brooklyn, New York, was the first to recognize in the folk-music of the southern Negroes a rich store of inspiration for serious composers. The spirituals which proved so stimulating to Dvořák were destined to develop into the blues, which subsequently became one of the main elements of jazz.

Still, American composers were slow to avail themselves of the elements of their native folk-music, even when rag-time and jazz were harder to silence than to hear. As early as 1896, Johannes Brahms was thinking of introducing the novel rhythmic effects of American rag-time, which he had just heard for the first time, into one of his compositions,<sup>1</sup> and Debussy, Stravinsky, and Auric, had already used rag-time and jazz in their compositions before an American, John Alden Carpenter, wrote *Krazy Kat*, a jazz-ballet, in 1922.

Wherein lies the explanation of the potent influence of jazz? First we must determine what jazz is, if that be possible. Many have attempted to define rag-time, blues, and jazz, but most have fallen into the error of trying to make too definite distinctions among them. Even a superficial examination should indicate that rag-time and jazz are really the same thing in different stages of development. Carl Engel has rightly observed that "jazz is rag-time, *plus* 'blues,' *plus* orchestral polyphony."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Boston Evening Transcript*, Music Section, March 22, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> *Discords Mingled*, 1931, p. 147. Paul Fritz Laubenstein, in *Jazz—Debit and Credit*, *The MUSICAL QUARTERLY*, October, 1929, particularly stresses the contributions to orchestration made by jazz, in his discussion of the "credit" side.

The day when rag-time first reared its head<sup>3</sup> can be placed only generally in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first appearance of the word "rag-time" in connection with a printed song occurred on the cover of Bert Williams' *Oh, I don't know, you're not so warm*, in 1896. America sang and danced to rag-time until before she entered the World War. In the five years preceding the War, the term "jazz" gradually came to replace "rag-time" in general use. Change in the style of the music came gradually too. One cannot say when rag-time stopped and jazz began. One should not try to, for, as already stated, they are the same thing in different phases. "Jazz completed a process that rag-time began."<sup>4</sup>

In defining jazz, the authorities have ended in confusion and disagreement, and have generally failed in their purpose. Irving Schweré points out that the "ordinary American . . . could not define jazz any better than the ordinary European; but where the American has the advantage is that his ear knows when jazz is and when it is not."<sup>5</sup> Henry Osgood expresses a kindred thought: "It is the spirit of the music, not the mechanics of its frame or the characteristics of the superstructure built upon that frame, that determines whether or not it is jazz."<sup>6</sup> In contrast to this opinion is Aaron Copland's belief that jazz can be defined if its structure is analyzed. But his conclusions are not very startling; he says: "The peculiar excitement [jazz] produces by clashing two definitely and regularly marked rhythms is unprecedented in occidental music. Its polyrhythm is the real contribution of jazz."<sup>7</sup>

Actually all these men are right, but none accomplishes his purpose: to define jazz. The reason is simple: "jazz," applied to music, is indefinable, for "no word used to describe a school of music can be defined."<sup>8</sup> Jazz is correctly a style, not a form, and styles can be only described, not defined. Paul Whiteman, who has had perhaps more practical experience with jazz than any other person, has arrived at a similar conclusion: "Jazz is not as yet the thing said, it is the manner of saying it."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> I cannot undertake here to give an adequate historical sketch. See Isaac Goldberg's *Tin Pan Alley*, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Kings David and Jazz*, 1927, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *So This Is Jazz*, 1926, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> *Modern Music*, Jan. 1927.

<sup>8</sup> A. V. Frankenstein, *Syncopating Saxophones*, 1925, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Jazz*, 1926, p. 117.

Thus we are brought to Mr. Engel's description of jazz as an amalgam of rag-time, "blue" harmony, and orchestral polyphony.

The examination of the widespread influence of jazz in America and Europe is a subject for sociological rather than for musical study. Remember that the word "jazz" is not confined to music; it can be a verb or noun, and was probably descriptive of emotion before it was of music.<sup>10</sup> We are living in the Jazz Age, or emerging from it, and our music is but a phase of it on two continents. Whiteman says:

Jazz is the spirit of a new country. It catches up the underlying motif of a continent and period, molding it into a form which expresses the fundamental emotion of the people, the place, and time so authentically that it is immediately recognizable. . . . I think it is a mistake to call jazz cheerful. The optimism of jazz is the optimism of the pessimist who says, 'Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die.' This cheerfulness of despair is deep in America. Our country is not the childishly jubilant nation that some people like to think it. Behind the rush of achievement is a restlessness of dissatisfaction, a vague nostalgia and yearning of something indefinable, beyond our grasp. . . . That is the thing expressed by that wail, that longing, that pain behind all the surface clamor and rhythm and energy of jazz. The critics may call it Oriental, call it Russian, call it anything they like. It is the expression of the soul of America and America recognizes it.

But the soul of America became in the past decade part of the soul of Europe. In France, while Cocteau described jazz as "*une sorte de catastrophe apprivoisée*,"<sup>11</sup> critical opinion proclaimed, "*Il est vie. Il est art. Il est ivresse des sons et des bruits. Il est joie animale des mouvements souples. Il est mélancolie des passions. Il est nous d'aujourd'hui.*"<sup>12</sup>

Whether urged by its spirit or attracted by its rhythmic individuality, the fact remains that practically every composer in France since Debussy has felt the insidious effect of King Jazz. As Marion Bauer expresses it, the French composers throw themselves on jazz as hungry dogs on a bone.<sup>13</sup> We turn now to the examination of that bone as treated in French music.

<sup>10</sup> For etymology *cf. So This Is Jazz*, and *Tin Pan Alley*.

<sup>11</sup> "A sort of catastrophe tamed."

<sup>12</sup> "It is life. It is art. It is the drunkenness of sounds and noises. It is the animal joy of supple movements. It is the melancholy of the passions. It is we of today."

<sup>13</sup> See *La Revue musicale*, Apr., 1924, p. 36.

FRANCE HEARS RAG-TIME  
AND DEBUSSY DOES THE CAKE-WALK

In 1896, Williams and Walker, two gentlemen of dark complexion, came to New York from America's midwest to excite and amuse the audiences of Koster and Bial's Music-Hall, with a dance to rag-time rhythms—the cake-walk. For a decade and more, Williams, Walker, and the rest of America, danced the cake-walk. Meanwhile, the Negro team crossed the Atlantic's waters and introduced their exuberant steps to the lords, ladies, and commoners of London. The cake-walk enjoyed a fad as the most popular society-dance in Merrie England.

Nor was Paris neglected. She too, at her World's Fair and elsewhere, came to know the exciting rhythms of American rag-time. France was quick to adopt her own version of this new music for her dance- and music-halls. Negro bands were imported from the United States and adored with a reverence that only the Gallic soul can cherish towards the supposedly lighter moments of life.

Another means by which American popular music was rapidly disseminated in the Old World was by the development of a new mechanical invention. In 1877, Thomas Alva Edison presented a grateful world with the phonograph. By 1900, Edison's cylinder records had been flattened into disks, and the commercial potentialities of the new instrument were beginning to be exploited in Europe as well as at home. The several recordings of rag-time by Victor and other recorders were made easily available to any Frenchman or other person who was interested. The phonograph's part is of prime importance in considering the rapid spread of the rag-time-jazz influence.

From one source or another, France's serious composers heard and regarded the novelty of this crude and rhythmic music with naïve delight, a delight born partly from the still prevalent worship of nature in the raw, which had its roots in the sentimental philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

The romantic impressionist, Claude Debussy, was the first to commit himself on music paper when, in 1908, he concluded his charming suite, *The Children's Corner*, with the *Golliwog's Cake-Walk*.

Ex. 1 From "Golliwog's Cake-walk" (Debussy) (Published by Durand & Cie.)  
Allegro giusto



Ex. 1a  
Un peu moins vite



Like most thoroughgoing Rousseauists, Debussy managed to inject into the essential crudity of the thing he was trying to imitate a sophistication it did not know in its native haunts. Some fifteen years later, American jazz was to reach a technical stage somewhat akin to that of the *Golliwog's Cake-Walk*. Notice, at \* in the first of the foregoing extracts, the appearance of a "blue" note in the harmony—the lowered submediant used in the major mode. This type of harmonic device was already thrice familiar in nineteenth-century music, and Debussy's use of it here should not be regarded with unqualified wonder. It is probably coincidental. (So, certainly, is the "Gershwin" sound of the main theme in the finale of the same composer's *La Mer*. Similar European anticipations of jazz idioms should make an interesting topic for study.) Even if Debussy missed the point of the rag-time music that exerted an influence on him, he did provide the world with a gay miniature which, without that influence, he might not have produced.

In 1910, he again allowed a cake-walk to creep into a piano piece, this time in the musical caricature, *General Lavine—eccentric*, from the second book of Preludes. *Minstrels*, from the first book, betrays the influence of Negro spirituals as well as of rag-time. Thus, by the most poetic of French composers was American popular music admitted into the realm of serious composition in France.

The next French musician to fall under the spell of rag-time was that irrepressible wit, Erik Satie. For his ballet, *Parade*, written in 1916 to a scenario by Jean Cocteau,<sup>14</sup> Satie dished up a *Rag-time du paquebot*.

<sup>14</sup> Cocteau later wrote "American Negro orchestras . . . fertilize an artist's imagination as much as does life." *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, 1918, p. 34.

Here was a composer at least temperamentally suited to affect the American style. He did manage to approximate it more accurately than Debussy, though the result was somewhat self-consciously imitative. But then, we must remember that Satie probably approached the whole undertaking with the sense of satire that was habitual to him.

Ex. 2 From "Rag-time du Paquebot" (Satie) (Published by Rouart, Lereille & Cie.)



In 1919, Darius Milhaud, subsequently to become identified with the "Group of Six," returned to Paris after two years spent in Brazil as an *attaché* of the French legation in Rio de Janeiro. While in South America, he had become attracted by the native dances. He imitated them in his cycle for piano, *Saudades do Brazil*. The similarity of some of the rhythms of these dances to the rhythms of North American rag-time is remarkable. This fact may indicate a fertile field for study in regard to the sources of the latter.

Milhaud, too, composed a ballet for a Cocteau scenario. In 1919, he produced *Le Bœuf sur le toit*, a "cinema-symphony on South American airs." South American or not, without the subtitle the music for this satirical pantomime could be justly mistaken for rag-time *à la française*. Since Cocteau was poking fun at American prohibition, Milhaud may have deliberately chosen to be influenced by American rag-time. Here are the opening measures of the work:

Ex. 3 From "Le Bœuf sur le toit" (Milhaud) (Published by La Sirène musicale)



While rag-time was gaining a foothold in Paris, an expatriate Russian musician had centered his activities there. *Protégé* of Rimsky-Korsakov and exponent of the Russian ballet, Igor Stravinsky had as important an influence on the present generation of French composers as had their compatriot ancestors. In fact, the "Group of Six" repudiated Debussy's impressionism and turned to Stravinsky's objective ideals. So we must take cognizance of the influence Stravinsky had on the development of jazz in France.

"Stravinsky," says Isaac Goldberg,<sup>15</sup> "with his epochal ballet, 'Petroushka,' had made himself in 1911 the European pioneer of jazz." Goldberg overstates the case. At best, the rhythms of Stravinsky have only a nominal relationship to those of jazz. But if there be any doubt about the essentially rhythmic nature of *Petroushka*, there can be none in regard to *Le Sacre du printemps*, which had a sensational *première* in Paris in 1913. In this ballet, Stravinsky anticipated two important general characteristics of jazz: emphasis on rhythm (admittedly a more complex rhythm than jazz has ever achieved) and emphasis on the wind instruments. With this imposing work to his credit, we may wonder what need the great Igor had for imported polyrhythms; but he, too, tried to imitate the music from across the sea. Between 1915

<sup>15</sup> *Tin Pan Alley*, p. 266.

and 1920, he wrote his *Rag-time* for piano (later orchestrated) and the *Histoire d'un soldat*, which were neither "rag-time fish nor jazz flesh."<sup>16</sup>

But the attempts of Debussy, Satie, Milhaud, and Stravinsky, were merely paving the way for the almost universal reign of King Jazz in France after the World War.

#### "THE SIX" FOX-TROT WHILE RAVEL HAS THE BLUES

How much influence the friendly invasion of Paris by American armies in 1917-18 had in making the French crave a jazz-band cannot be known. At any rate, in 1918, while Allied troops were still face to face with Germans along the Western Front, Gaby Deslys and Harry Pilcer, at the Casino de Paris, introduced Paris to its first jazz-band. The Gallic soul liked it, Gallic feet tapped to its rhythms, Gallic ears enjoyed its novel instrumentation. The Jazz Age was launched in France.

At least one native Parisian, Jean Wiener, had, according to his compatriots, caught the spirit of this new development of rag-time. At the Bar Gaya, he played his piano while Vance Lowry ("*dont le cœur est un saxophone*")<sup>17</sup> alternated between saxophone and banjo, making a combination which the French thought as exciting and sonorous as any larger American one. Wiener also discovered that two pianos were twice as good as one when it came to playing jazz, so he united with Doucet to make a famous team, able not only in playing jazz but in the performance of all two-piano literature.

Wiener was enterprising, and, in 1921, he induced Billy Arnold's Negro band, then playing in Deauville, to give a formal concert in Paris under his management at the Salle des Agriculteurs. This performance, which took place on December 6th, was an unqualified success, and the music critics raved for weeks about new instrumental sonorities and techniques and about a new spirit.

The *savants* of music, in accordance with the French temperament, regarded America's brain-child with a gravity that to us seems mainly lugubrious. Thus, when the scholarly *La Revue musicale* in 1926 introduced criticism of phonograph records into its columns, imported jazz-recordings were reviewed as a matter of course. Henry Prunières opened his comment with the observation, "*Jazz règne décidément sur le monde.*"<sup>18</sup> The general tone of his writings on the subject may be

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> "Whose heart is a saxophone." Darius Milhaud, *Etudes*, 1927, p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> "Decidedly, jazz reigns on the earth." Aug., 1926, p. 181.

gained from the following extract in the issue of January 1932: "Le jazz de L. Armstrong est toujours intéressant. Moins varié, moins riche que celui de Duke Ellington, il garde les qualités du vrai jazz hot. . . . Armstrong est un remarquable virtuose."<sup>19</sup> Milhaud felt moved to write, with rare incongruity, "Un musicien comme Jean Wiener . . . a assimilé [le jazz] avec une rare habileté en le combinant à un certain classicisme qui fait songer à Bach."<sup>20</sup> A Belgian, Robert Goffin, wrote what has been called "the most exhaustive story of jazz players extant." Eminent names in all fields of French music lent their approval to the jazz influence; Lionel de la Laurencie, Albert Roussel, P.-O. Ferroud, and Maurice Brillard, are some.<sup>22</sup>

While the critics were being eloquent in print, the younger composers were trying to assimilate the new style. Besides the sources already indicated, they had access to Salabert's popular reprints of American jazz.

The composers known collectively as "the Six" were especially fascinated. The fox-trot for two pianos, *Adieu, New York*, by Georges Auric, one of the group, appeared in 1919. He had captured the essence of jazz rhythm but missed fire harmonically. A few extracts follow:

Ex. 4 From "Adieu, New York" (Auric) (Published by Les Editions de la Sirène)  
Un peu plus lent et triste



Ex. 4a



<sup>19</sup> "The jazz of L. Armstrong is always interesting. Less varied, less rich than that of Duke Ellington, it retains the qualities of true hot jazz. . . . Armstrong is a remarkable virtuoso." *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>20</sup> "A musician like Jean Wiener . . . has assimilated [jazz] with rare skill, combining it with a certain classicism that makes one think of Bach." *Etudes*, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Goffin, *Aux Frontières du Jazz*, 1932. See the review by Carl Engel in *THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY* for October, 1932, p. 651.

<sup>22</sup> See Cœuroy and Schaeffner, *Le Jazz*, pp. 115-136. Mention should be made also of the book by Carl Vica, *Du Classicisme au jazz*, 1933, and of the article by Blaise Pesquinne, *Le Blues, la musique nègre des villes, naissance et avenir du jazz*, in the November 1934 issue of *La Revue musicale*.

In 1922, Milhaud again crossed the Atlantic, this time to North America. In the Hotel Brunswick, Boston, his already growing enthusiasm for jazz was heightened by the splendid orchestra of Leo Reisman, then slowly acquiring the reputation which was to bring it international fame. It is curious that Milhaud should admire the Reisman manner, for its sophisticated style is a far cry from the Negro orchestras which Parisians usually prefer to white ones. At any rate, the composer of the *Saudades* returned to his native country, his head teeming this time with American jazz, 1922 model. He lost no time in composing a new ballet, *La Création du monde*, and in scoring it for "un orchestre de jazz un peu agrandi et . . . traité dans la forme de la musique instrumentale comme une symphonie concertante."<sup>23</sup> The scenario, by Blaise Cendrars, provides a Negro Adam and Eve. The score opens with an almost Handelian overture. Then follows a fugue on a jazz-blues subject:

Ex. 5 From "La Création du monde" (Milhaud) (Published by Max Eschig & Cie.)

Ex. 5 a

Milhaud brought to jazz his polytonal style: polytonality and polyharmony appeared later in American jazz. Milhaud, I think, has been more successful in capturing the spirit of American jazz than any other French composer. He turned to it again in his dramatic work, *Les Malheurs d'Orphée*.

<sup>23</sup> "A slightly enlarged jazz orchestra . . . treated in the form of instrumental music like a symphonie concertante." Milhaud, *Etudes*, p. 21.

Some have found instances of a perceptible jazz-influence in Arthur Honegger's oratorio, *Le Roi David*. I can find no specific example of such an apparent influence that cannot be otherwise accounted for, although I notice a feeling of "blue" harmony in the twentieth piece, *Je fus conçu dans le péché*. However, in the finale of his *Concertino* for piano and orchestra, composed in 1924, Honegger frankly writes jazz. He has learned something from American orchestration, for, in this movement, he generally uses the piano percussively. In fact, the piano fairly replaces the battery, while a solo trombone sings a melancholy tune beneath. A few measures suffice to demonstrate Honegger's jazz-style:

Ex. 6 From "Concertino" (Honegger) (Published by Editions Maurice Séhant)

SOLO

ORCH.

Ex. 6a

In 1925, Honegger wrote a *Prelude and Blues* for, of all combina-

tions, a quartet of chromatic harps. As yet, this work remains unpublished.

Jean Wiener, distinguished as performer and manager, has been also a prolific composer of pieces in the jazz idiom. Chief of these is his *Franco-American Concerto* for piano and string orchestra. It is a spirited and sometimes witty work, but its effect is mainly "Franco," and the use of a string orchestra is a stylistic error that makes even those jazz effects present sound completely untypical. Wiener had also written, before 1926, a *Sonatine syncopée* for piano, a *Suite* for violin and piano, and *Trois Blues chantés*. Of the three blues, Milhaud writes, "*Ils sont tendres et graves comme les lieder de Schubert.*"<sup>24</sup>

Maurice Ravel, the Paris Conservatory's *enfant terrible* of another day, was not to be outdone by the younger generation. He, too, could and would write jazz. To an interviewer from "Musical America" he said, "The most captivating part of jazz is its rich and diverting rhythm. . . . Jazz is a very rich and vital source of inspiration for modern composers and I am astonished that so few Americans are influenced by it." Nicolas Slonimsky thinks, however, that "Ravel became interested in that element of jazz which is characteristic of the blues—the instability of major and minor, the sliding effects."<sup>25</sup> The composer himself to the contrary, I agree with Slonimsky. What, rhythmically, could jazz teach the composer of *La Valse* and *Daphnis et Chloé*?

In his fantasy-opera for the incorrigible Collette's libretto, *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, Ravel produced his first jazz. "The Wedgwood tea-pot and the Chinese teacup sing a duet and dance a fox-trot in which jazz and Chinese music are strangely mingled."<sup>26</sup>

A more ambitious undertaking is the slow movement of the *Sonata* for violin and piano, written between 1923 and 1927. It is labelled *Blues*. Ravel employs polytonality and several jazz-rhythm effects. But the only element of the real blues he captures is the *glissando*. Where are the "blue" notes? The musical essence of the blues is in the harmony, but Ravel adheres to a harmonic style that is peculiarly his own.

<sup>24</sup> "They are tender and grave like Schubert's *Lieder*." *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> *Boston Evening Transcript*, Music Section, Apr. 21, 1929.

<sup>26</sup> E. B. Hill, *Maurice Ravel*, *THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY*, Jan., 1927, p. 145.

Ex. 7 From the Slow Movement of the Sonata for Violin and Piano (Ravel)  
(Published by Durand & Cie.)

Violin

## Ex. 7a

The most recent evidence of jazz in Ravel's music appears in the finale of the Piano Concerto, published in 1930. Reviewing the première of this work, Prunières wrote, "*L'esprit du jazz anime en effet cette dernière partie . . . mais avec une extrême discréction.*"<sup>27</sup> By then, Ravel had assimilated the jazz idiom completely into his highly individual style, without, however, writing "straight" jazz.

<sup>27</sup> "The spirit of jazz indeed animates this last movement . . . but with extreme discretion." *La Revue musicale*, Feb. 1932, p. 124.

If the tastes of the American public are any index, Ravel's most popular jazz-work is one that he never intended as such. Orchestras in the United States were quick to seize on his inescapable *Bolero*, to rearrange it into four-quarter time, and to present it to a receptive dance-loving audience. The royalties accruing from this work are said to have already exceeded those that Ravel has received from the sum of his other works. Amusing and typical is the verified report that a large American motion-picture concern paid him a sizable sum for the "movie" rights to the *Bolero* and that it turned out later that all the producers wanted to use was the title!

Among the latest jazz to come from France is a portion of Pierné's *Divertissements on a Pastoral Theme*, completed in 1932. One of the variations in this work is styled a "cortège-blues" by the composer. It is a tuneful and effective bit, but it adds nothing musically to the development of jazz here or abroad.

If regarded in the light of the view expressed by Milhaud, Pierné's use of the jazz idiom would be considered slightly anti-climactic. Milhaud wrote in 1927, ". . . *Déjà l'influence du jazz est passée comme un orage bienfaisant après lequel on retrouve un ciel plus pur, un temps plus sûr.*"<sup>28</sup> And, in 1930, René Dumesnil echoed him: "*Le jazz a bien vieilli déjà.*"<sup>29</sup>

Probably several factors led to the rapid disillusionment in France: (1) the discovery by French musicians that they could not catch the spirit of the music they were attempting to imitate; (2) the parallel discovery that it had less to offer, opened fewer horizons than they imagined in their initial enthusiasm—in other words, that it was technically "old stuff"; (3) the gradual abatement of the Jazz Age itself as Europe slowly returned to pre-War normality; (4) the recent neo-classic revival in the arts, subscribed to by the idol of young French musicians, Stravinsky, and earlier foreshadowed by Satie and Ravel.

#### THE FAILURE OF FRENCH JAZZ

One of the most original theories of the source of jazz is that of Fortunat Strowski, who, according to the headline-writer of "The New York Times" (March 26, 1928), "Says jazz originated in old French

<sup>28</sup> "The jazz influence has passed already, like a beneficent storm after which one rediscovers a clearer sky, more settled weather." *Etudes*, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> "Jazz has already aged quite a bit." *La Musique contemporaine en France*, v. i., p. 98.

music." Ravel is partially of the same opinion: to the interviewer of "Musical America"<sup>30</sup> he said, "Jazz music is not a twentieth-century product; its beginning dates much earlier. The old Scotch melodies possess the elements of the modern blues [Ravel is referring to the so-called Scotch 'snap'—M.R.R.]; the French-Italian melodies of 1840 (for example, the ballet, *Griselle*, by Adam) also contain elements of present jazz music. The music of Gottschalk, the Creole composer at the time of the Second Empire, was possibly the ancestor of Blues and Charleston rhythms." Further support of Strowski's opinion is found in the etymological theory that the word "jazz" derives from the French *jaser*, in use by the Louisiana Negroes.

I make these interesting citations, not because I necessarily agree with them, but because, if they be true, French composers have not been able to capture the essence of a music for which their nation *may* have been a source. Irving Schwerké finds "no musical spectacle in the world quite so sad as a European orchestra in the throes of an effort to play jazz."<sup>31</sup> If a Frenchman in the throes of an effort to *write* jazz is not sad, he is certainly not happy, at least from an American point of view. Nicolas Slonimsky states the case thus:

European jazz, the jazz of the printed sheet, is perforce stationary. At the best, a foreigner can learn *argot*, but he will never be able to enrich it with new words, having no living source to draw upon. But the new material thus absorbed may influence the further development of European music, eventually emerging in a shape conditioned by the peculiar European environment.

We can note certain peculiarities of European jazz upon a brief survey. European jazz is humorous, it is often an intended caricature, it is always mischievous. As it should be, we may add, for, having no roots in the soil, it must be mannered. European jazz is lavishly incrusted with counterpoint, [often] atonal [and] polytonal. And so it should be, for atonality is European for blues. European jazz is mildly insinuating, but always polite. Small wonder, for insinuation rather than plain talk is the European way. European jazz is expertly orchestrated. It was to be expected, for Europeans excel in musical salads and macedoines. The blend is always perfect whatever the ingredients may be. European jazz conceals a unifying rhythmical figure behind it, deviations are expressly pointed out, to be complemented by a counter-design. Well it may be, for the sense of balance in European music governs the intangible self.<sup>32</sup>

Every characteristic with which Mr. Slonimsky endows European

<sup>30</sup> See p. 64, *supra*.

<sup>31</sup> *Kings David and Jazz*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> *Boston Evening Transcript*, Music Section, April 21, 1929.

jazz is almost directly counter to its equivalent in the American and parent variety. For example, as Mr. Whiteman remarks,<sup>33</sup> an "intended caricature" is just what American jazz is not. Nor is the blend, in the United States, always perfect; jazz is, in fact, more nearly riotous heterogeneity. And our jazz is not mild, rarely polite.

If atonality is European for blues, in that lies what I believe to be at the root of the failure of European jazz, French included, to succeed *qua jazz*. As Carl Engel points out,<sup>34</sup> the blues is a determining element of jazz, it is the characteristic jazz-harmony. Now this harmony, although novel in popular music, is very elementary from the theoretical view-point. It was veritable child's-play to the musician of twentieth-century France, whose heritage was a complex harmonic technique carefully evolved in the preceding century. So, in trying to write jazz, he could not bring himself to employ the comparatively naïve harmonic effects that belong to it. Instead, he treated it with his own harmonic idiom and thereby robbed it of one of its determining characteristics: "jazz without its 'blue' notes is a sort of denatured article."<sup>35</sup>

There is another element of American jazz that must force escape the foreigner—the tradition. There is something in jazz that cannot be frozen into the existing notation: a rhythmic carelessness and wavering in pitch, a spontaneity of dynamic accents. Naturally, the only way to gain these things is to be nourished in the tradition. The average European composer is automatically defeated in his chosen battle.

However, there is no reason to assume, just because the French have failed to compose true jazz, that an influence so widely felt over more than two decades will soon be forgotten. In trying to write jazz, the French composers have added elements to their technique that they might never have otherwise gained. Their profit has been in the secondary results attendant on their attempt. Perhaps still further profit will be realized at some future date, when jazz will be no longer typically American, but the universal property of the musical world; when it will no longer be primarily popular music, but will be methodically incorporated into art-music, as have been the minuet, the waltz, and many other dance expressions. That this will occur is, of course, hypothetical—but it is possible. Meanwhile, can we in America, profiting from Europe's abortive attempts, show the way?

<sup>33</sup> See p. 54, *supra*.

<sup>34</sup> See p. 53, *supra*.

<sup>35</sup> Isaac Goldberg, *Tin Pan Alley*, p. 277.

## JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT, FIRST AMERICAN CRITIC OF MUSIC

By EDWARD N. WATERS

JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT, early American music critic and editor, was destined, for half a century, to play an important rôle in the musical life of this country. The fruits of his labor have become so much a part of our native criticism that the man and his personal achievement have been almost forgotten. He was neither a great virtuoso nor an eminent composer; he formed no large popular following. Working quietly and with conviction, he established a method of criticism where none had been before; and the brilliant group of American critics of today and yesterday owes its secure position to the New England writer who toiled single-handed in a musical desert. His periodical, *Dwight's Journal of Music*, flourished throughout a formative period in our cultural history and was a tremendous force for good, a force not yet fully apprehended.

Dwight was born in Boston on May 13, 1813. His father was a physician, a music-lover and, strangely enough for that time, a radical free-thinker in matters of religion. Herein the son resembled the father. The child showed no inclination for practical training of any kind, but gave evidence of a great love for music and literature, the latter calling him almost as strongly as the former. George Willis Cooke states that his absorbing interest in music began at about the age of fifteen and that from his father he received the "best instruction" in that art.<sup>1</sup> The instruments to which he devoted much time were the piano and flute.

After his preliminary education Dwight attended Harvard College, graduating in 1832, and while a student there joined the famous students' association known as the Pierian Sodality, the special purpose of which was the cultivation of music. It was due largely to Dwight's efforts that in 1837 this society changed into the Harvard Musical Association, which still continues. Music did not enter into his course of study

<sup>1</sup> "Early Letters of George Wm. Curtis to John S. Dwight." Ed. by George Willis Cooke. New York, 1898.

at Harvard, but he pursued it avidly. In his senior year he lectured on music before the Northborough Lyceum and, while engaged in teaching school in Northborough that same year, introduced it as part of his instruction.<sup>2</sup> He graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1836 and chose for his life's work the career of a Unitarian clergyman. Both his musical and literary interests are clearly indicated by the title of his final dissertation: "The Proper Character of Poetry and Music for Public Worship," published in the *Christian Examiner* of November 1836. His ministerial labors began immediately, although it was some time before he obtained a parish of his own.

Aside from his clerical duties, Dwight was as much occupied with literature, especially German, as with music. He translated much German poetry. He was, throughout his life, in close and constant fellowship with the most eminent New England writers and scholars, and the early alliances he formed with literary men were invaluable to him. He had the support of Ralph Waldo Emerson in preparing his *Select Minor Poems Translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller*, which appeared in 1838. He did most of the actual translating and wrote all of the long introductory essay and commentary, finally dedicating this volume, somewhat timidly, to the great English author and German student, Thomas Carlyle, from whom he received glowing praise.

After graduating from the divinity school, Dwight substituted for other ministers, sometimes for one service only, sometimes for several weeks. It was not until 1840 that he obtained his first charge at Northampton, Mass. His first church also was his last. Contemporary testimony bears witness that Dwight was a man of great sincerity, but lacking in those qualifications that are necessary to lead a parochial flock. His character was sensitive and sympathetic, but entirely too refined, unworldly, and aloof, to assume a ranking position in the world at large. At this time, too, he must have been influenced by his paternal heritage of free-thinking, for his sermons and methods of pastoral work were not to the liking of his parishioners.<sup>3</sup> His oratory could not have been as flowing or convincing as his writing, which won him a large following in later years; nor could his heart have been in his work; for after one year, in 1841, he left the church at

<sup>2</sup> "John Sullivan Dwight, Brookfarmer, Editor and Critic of Music." By George Willis Cooke. Boston, 1898. p. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 16, 32.

Northampton, returned to Boston and quietly, but definitely, left the ministry.

By this time, Dwight had become a devout follower of Beethoven, and his musical proclivities had attracted the attention of no less a person than Oliver Ditson. A letter which he wrote in November 1840, contains the following passage:

I found a beautiful present from New York—Beethoven's *Fidelio* . . . [and] a letter from Dr. Stedman, written in behalf of Ditson . . . asking me to make a translation from the German of Matthison's *Adelaide* and adapt it to Beethoven's music for publication. The letter contained a copy of Beethoven's letter of dedication to Matthison. These two things came in upon me together just as one of my old Beethoven fits was growing upon me. I have played through ever so many sonatas this week.<sup>4</sup>

Another decade passed before Dwight finally established himself and his paper, and these intervening years were spent in an idealistic way, divided between work for music and work for humanity. The well-known but short-lived Brook Farm movement began in 1841, and Dwight joined it in November of that year. In this Utopia-seeking community, based upon the teachings of the French socialist, Fourier, Dwight taught Latin and music; but with all the members of the colony he took his turn in cultivating the fields and shared in the necessary manual labor. His music instruction, except for a few piano lessons, resulted in stimulating an interest in the art, and in the introduction of spirited community-singing among both children and adults. His influence and leadership were now as inspiring in music as they had been uninspiring in organized religion; for it is to his honor and credit that on more than one occasion members of the Farm walked to Boston (7 miles!) and back to hear the rare and probably badly performed concerts of the 1840's. He sent articles on music and musicians to various current papers. But it was not until the *Harbinger* began, in June 1845, that he wrote regularly for any one journal.

The *Harbinger* was also the official organ of the Brook Farm community and the Associationist movement. Dwight had sole charge of the music department, criticizing concerts, reviewing new music and occasionally commenting on the condition of music and its development.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38. Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, in his article *Beethoven in America* (*THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY*, April 1927), gives an interesting account of the reason for the new song translation.

ment in America. Music-lovers and serious students must have been delighted with the sane, eloquently written and intelligent pleas for music and its advancement that flowed from Dwight's pen. The daily press was literally spouting banalities and meaningless eulogies of musical performers, and Dwight's voice was like one crying in the wilderness. But it did not cry for long, because Brook Farm was abandoned in 1847, and the *Harbinger* ceased soon afterward.

Returned to Boston, Dwight continued his work for Associationism, believing firmly in its social benefits for all mankind, and lectured and wrote on music. In 1852 he established *Dwight's Journal of Music*, which was to become a great force for good in the world of art. Dwight's life henceforward was uneventful except for a year's travel in Europe. This was his only journey abroad, and, while in Germany, he met several of the leading musicians of the day, including Bülow and Liszt. His literary bent was gratified as well, for in Italy he became acquainted with Robert and Elizabeth Browning and Hans Christian Andersen. He resumed work immediately after his return to this country and conducted his paper nobly, if conservatively, until 1881.

Dwight did not cease his activity after the *Journal's* demise; on the contrary, some of his tasks after 1881 deserve special mention. He served as president and librarian of the Harvard Musical Association; he wrote a musical history of Boston and several articles for the *Atlantic Monthly*; he revised the definitions of musical terms in the 1890 edition of *Webster's International Dictionary*; and for six months, in 1890, he was music critic for the *Boston Transcript*, substituting for W. F. Apthorp. Three years of retirement followed; he died on September 5, 1893.

Dwight's life was one of material sacrifice and steadfast devotion to an artistic ideal. Preparatory to starting the *Journal*, which he never could have carried on unaided, Dwight solicited the assistance of many friends. A letter to Christopher P. Cranch, an occasional contributor of poetry to the paper, reveals clearly his unfortunate situation: "It [the *Journal*] is my last, desperate (not very confident), *grand coup d'état* to try to get a living, and I call on all good powers to help me launch the ship, or, rather, little boat."<sup>5</sup> His devotion to an ideal is obvious to any one scanning the pages of the magazine. The editorial policy was always uncompromising in its promotion and maintenance of the highest standards in composition, education, and performance.

<sup>5</sup> "Early letters of George Wm. Curtis . . .," p. 65.

America, however, was maturing musically. By 1880, therefore, the country was able to absorb that newer musical literature which Dwight could neither approve of nor elucidate. The valedictory which Dwight directed to his public in the final number of his paper (1881) acknowledged this fact. The editor gracefully made way for the "moderns" of the late nineteenth century, his attitude towards art in his eightieth year being unchanged from that which he maintained in his thirtieth.

\* \* \*

It may help us to cast a glance over the musical life of Boston during the past century. The city was the music center of New England, and for years, perhaps, of the country. Its importance in the formation of Dwight's artistic character cannot be denied. First and foremost, Boston was conservative. Its conservatism, rampant throughout Dwight's career, lasted well into the twentieth century; but a liberal element became gradually noticeable after the founding of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881. Observant participants of the local musical activity were doubtless aware of this liberalization, and the coincidence of the passing of *Dwight's Journal of Music* and the birth of the orchestra is noteworthy, although no connection exists between the two events.

The musical life in Boston differed considerably from that of New York or Philadelphia. The works of new or unfamiliar composers frequently gained performance in the two latter cities, while in Boston —prior to 1890—the composers zealously cultivated (to the exclusion of almost all others) were Schumann, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Handel, and Haydn, with a sprinkling of Wagner and Brahms. It was Teuton fare, on the whole. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Raff, Goldmark, and Saint-Saëns, joined the select company. Little music of Berlioz or Liszt was heard except such as was presented by visiting organizations like Theodore Thomas's orchestra. After 1850, American compositions were infrequently performed, and Dwight was acquainted only with the work of Perkins, Parker, Paine, Foote, and Chadwick.

Opera thrived in New York and Philadelphia, but instrumental music predominated in Boston. In the city that was the birthplace of the Handel and Haydn Society, even the oratorio bowed to the sym-

phony. What opera Boston enjoyed, was presented by visiting troupes. These conditions have not materially changed.

Musical criticism and journalism lagged far behind musical practice, both outside and inside Boston. Periodicals sprang up, languished for a while, then passed on. The newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century have not yet been systematically studied; but there is ample evidence that in reporting concerts and giving notices they retained much of their eighteenth-century flavor, even past the half-century mark. Several years after Dwight had been writing so intelligently for the *Harbinger*, Boston papers were printing articles (authors unknown) like these:

Whether from the style of the music, the number of excellent concerts of late, or from whatever cause, we regretted to see so small an audience at the Tremont Temple on Saturday evening. To those who were not present we wish to say, that they lost the opportunity of listening to a remarkable exhibition of artistic skill. Mrs. Wallace's performance on the piano took the audience by storm. At each of her solos she was unanimously encored. Instead of repeating her first piece she gave Thalberg's splendid fantasia from *Moses in Egypt*, from memory, with as much ease as she took the bracelet from her arm. Think of that, ye indolent practitioners, from a young lady whose youthfulness and grace are as charming as her music . . . Mr. Wallace is certainly a great violinist, possessing wonderful command of his instrument. His execution is tremendous, his style the most florid, his tone inferior to two or three others we have heard (they perhaps were the fortunate possessors of superior instruments), but his double stops and double shakes are inferior to nothing within the range of our experience but Paganini's, who carried this branch of executive art to a degree of perfection which astonished everybody in London twenty years ago.

(*Excerpt from the "Boston Atlas," December 16, 1850, reporting a concert given by a Mr. Wallace, violinist, and Mrs. Wallace, pianist.*)

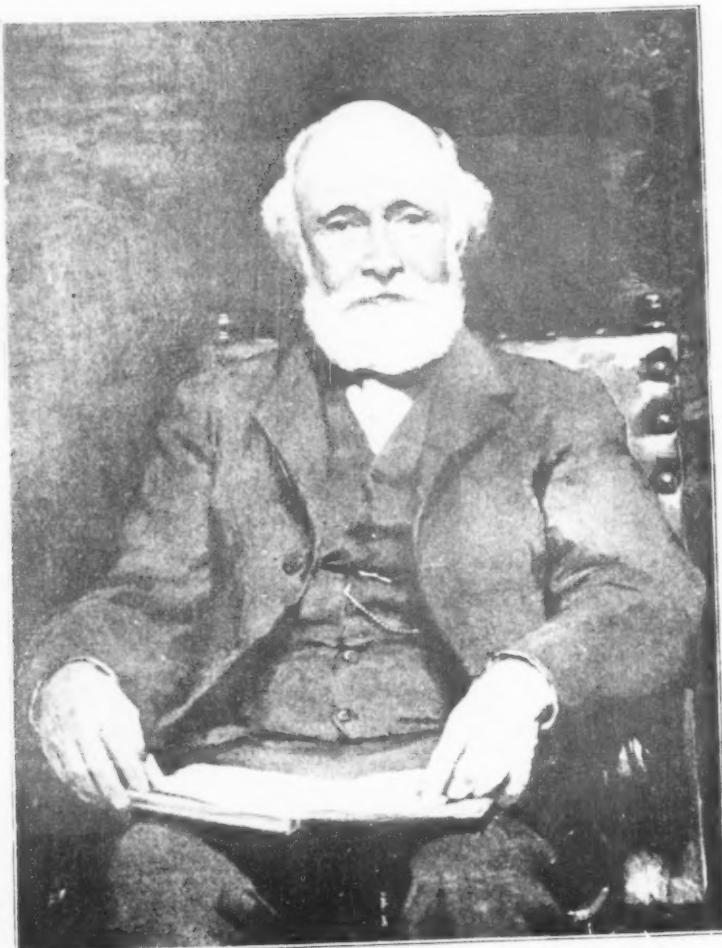
Gone are the Wallaces of yesteryear—and going are those of today. Peace to their ashes!

Concerts of merit and exhibitions of musical trickery were reviewed impartially; for in the Boston *Courier* of February 5, 1852, there is an account of a woman singer known as the "Black Swan" whose remarkable vocal range from C "in alto" to low G in the bass clef caused general consternation. No wonder the critic wrote: "The most extraordinary point is in her bass voice. When she was called out for her first song, she sat down to the pianoforte and sung a bass song. No one would suppose the voice to be a woman's."

A concert given by the Handel and Haydn Society with Mme. Hen-

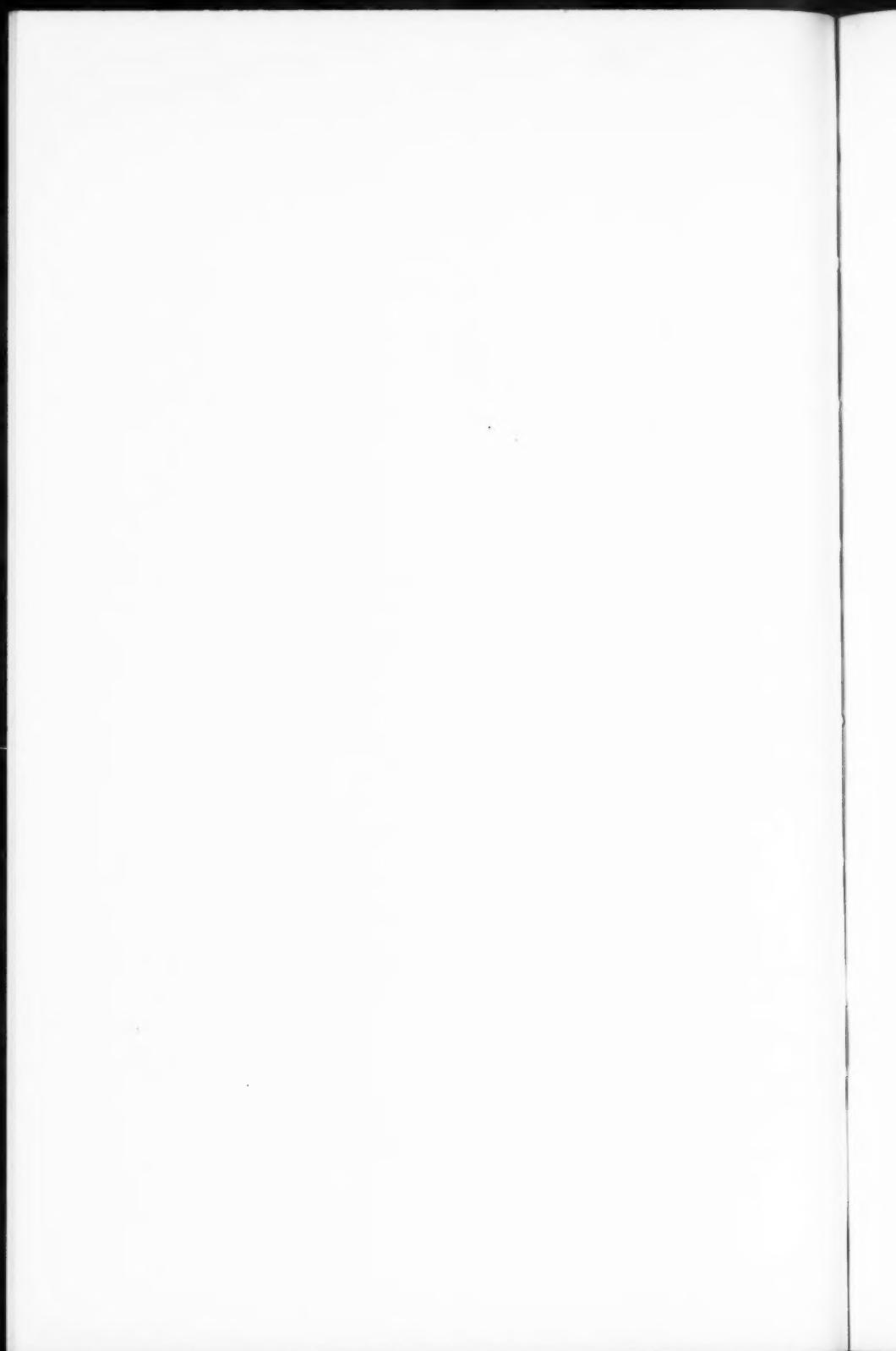






Very truly yours  
John S. Dwight.

(From a Painting by Caroline Cranch, 1884, in the possession of the  
Harvard Musical Association.)



riette Sontag as soloist was reported in the same paper on November 25, 1852, and there we read:

On Sunday evening, at the elegant and capacious hall, Madame Sontag, in conjunction with the Handel and Haydn Society, gave an oratorio and sacred concert. There were probably about three thousand persons present. All the seats were filled and all the doorways were crowded. The first part of the performance consisted of selections, among which was the chorus *Glory to God in the Highest*, sung by members of the Handel and Haydn Society. It was a glorious expression of praise. And it was a grand exhibition of art. . . . The second part of the performance was Rossini's *Stabat Mater*. . . . How this graceful and affecting music moved the audience was seen in the deep emotion it created. The duett *Quis est homo* by Madame Sontag and Mademoiselle Lehmann was a fine piece of singing. The *Infammatus* [sic] by Madame Sontag was a gem. We had fears that her voice would not be heard against the chorus, and organ, and orchestra. But she gave her C in alt with a degree of truth and clearness we did not anticipate.

Can there be any doubt that *Dwight's Journal of Music* was warmly welcomed by the comparatively few discerning music-lovers? This welcome must have been the more eagerly extended since Boston had already had a taste of competent musical journalism some years before. Dwight's paper was by no means the first in the field, nor was it the first periodical sincerely devoted to the best in music. Theodor Hach, a German resident of Boston, conducted the *Musical Magazine* from 1839-1841, and then returned to Europe. His product was efficient and professional, gave news of compositions and composers, printed excerpts from European writings and criticized local events with astonishing frankness. Probably this last fact hastened its end.

*Dwight's Journal of Music* occupies a unique position in American musical literature. Dwight had conceived this project early in 1851, and the first number was dated a little more than a year later, April 10, 1852. The most formidable obstacle had been the financial problem; never for a moment did Dwight think the paper could be a profitable venture and never did he try to make it so. The Harvard Musical Association and personal friends furnished the financial support for several years; and in 1858 Oliver Ditson became its publisher, with Dwight as chief editor and dictator of policy. This arrangement continued for over twenty years; in 1879 Houghton, Osgood & Co. became the publishers, and the editor, unchanged, fought against the attacks of modernism until 1881. Dwight secured for his paper the best contributors available; among them we find A. W. Thayer, F. L. Ritter, W. S. B. Mathews and W. F. Apthorp.

The scope and conduct of the paper were predicted in February, 1852, in a circular which Dwight issued:

The tone to be impartial, independent, catholic, conciliatory, aloof from musical clique and controversy, cordial to all good things, but not eager to chime in with any powerful private interest of publisher, professor, concert-giver, manager, society or party. . . . It will insist much on the claims of classical music and point out its beauties and meanings, not with a pedantic partiality, but because the *enduring* needs always to be held up in contrast to the ephemeral. But it will also aim to recognize what good there is in styles more simple, popular, or modern, will give him who is Italian in his tastes an equal hearing with the German, and will even print the articles of those opposed to the partialities of the editor, provided they be written briefly, decently, and to the point.<sup>6</sup>

When the first number appeared, readers were promised quite a variety of things; for a prospectus was printed on the first page, beneath the title, as a sort of agenda.

Its contents related mainly to the art of music, with occasional glances at the whole world of art and of polite literature, indeed at everything pertaining to the cultivation of the beautiful.

- 1: Critical reviews of concerts, oratorios, operas; with timely analyses of the notable works performed, accounts of their composers, &c.
- 2: Notices of new music published at home and abroad.
- 3: A summary of the significant musical news from all parts, gathered from English, German, French, as well as American papers.
- 4: Correspondence from musical persons and places.
- 5: Essays on musical styles, schools, periods, authors, compositions, instruments, theories; on musical education; on music in its moral, social, and religious bearings; on music in the Church, the concert-room, the theatre, the chamber, and the street, &c.
- 6: Translations from the best German and French writers upon music and art.
- 7: Occasional notices of sculpture, painting, architecture, poetry, aesthetic books, the drama, &c.
- 8: Original and selected poems, short tales, anecdotes, &c.

A brief space also will be devoted to advertisements of articles and occupations literary or artistic . . .

J. S. Dwight,  
Editor and Proprietor.

Such was the ambitious program of this paper. To a very large extent it was carried out, with no concession to popular taste and demand. Times and fashions changed, but not the *Journal*. The inflexible edi-

<sup>6</sup> "John Sullivan Dwight . . ." by Cooke, p. 147.

torial policy was largely responsible for the change of publishers in 1879. Cooke, Dwight's biographer, states that the change was due to dissension between Dwight and Oliver Ditson.<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Mr. William Arms Fisher for a letter in which he refers to this event, shrewdly concluding that "with changing conditions and an unchanging editor the magazine became more of a liability than an asset." Dwight's attitude towards music and musicians was invariable, and with romanticism sweeping the country he felt that his work was done, or rather, no longer desired.

The final number of the *Journal* was dated September 3, 1881. In it Dwight explained briefly and succinctly his reasons for discontinuing the magazine. Foremost among them was the modern trend of the art and the public's enthusiastic approval of it. Also, there was the decreasing support of readers, who were becoming conscious of the lack of editorial progressiveness. Once again Dwight retired gracefully and regretfully from a chosen profession, but this retirement followed upon a long and successful career which afforded him deep satisfaction, if no great financial returns.

The historical importance of the *Journal* is self-evident; no one can write a history of music in America without consulting its pages. In its own time it furnished proper and intelligent encouragement to many native composers, just when such encouragement was sadly needed. But more than this, the paper gives today, in its editor's writings, a fine example of unselfish devotion to the art and of a firm belief in its ability to benefit humanity.



Most of the accounts of Dwight are found in a mere handful of books, the earlier volumes being written by authors who were personally acquainted with their subject and generally contributed to the *Journal*. The most valuable writings would be those coming from the pens of various composers who had collided with or had been supported by Dwight's criticism. Such opinions are still unknown; very likely they exist in the private correspondence of American composers. The accessible articles have been written by men who were prominent as teachers and historians.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

The earliest criticism of Dwight, however, which has come to my attention was written by a composer, the famous Anthony Philip Heinrich who, throughout his long career, was as progressive as Dwight was conservative. Something of "Father" Heinrich's nature is described in Howard's *Our American Music*; but we must await the publication of his biography by Mr. William Treat Upton for a detailed study of this most interesting person and for an estimate of his work.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Upton located for me this evidence of the connection between Heinrich and Dwight and kindly gave his permission for its reproduction. It is an important document, and the fact that it was written early in Dwight's career does not lessen its importance; for Dwight's opinion did not change with the years.

The Music Division of the Library of Congress possesses a mass of Heinrich manuscripts, musical and otherwise. A huge notebook, formed by the composer himself, contains a letter dated July 11, 1846, which he wrote to J. G. L. Libbey of Boston. A concert had been given in Boston on June 13, 1846, which was a belated testimonial to Heinrich, and during the evening several of his works were performed. Dwight wrote a review for the *Harbinger* which was favorable on the whole, but which did not give the composer unstinted praise. The review may be considered later; let us look at Heinrich's letter. It is witty and scathing and in some respects penetrates to the core of Dwight's musical shortcomings. It reads in part:

. . . An article has been sent to me dated July 4th from the *Harbinger* of Brookfarm which I take to have been written by Mr. Dwight, headed *Father Heinrich in Boston*. Should you not have seen the paper, please to get it and show it to your neighbour Mr. Schmidt with my best remembrance. Many a harmless man has been innocently executed. The musicians of Boston have in their zeal and refined accomplishment nearly chopped off my head—but with the little stump left, I hope to have in some less barbarous spot better luck, and then I will play a duet with Mr. Dwight on a *Capriccio* with the illustrious Boston Sons of Apollo [listening]. Mr. Dwight is a happy wight, for he lives in sunny serene solitude at Brookfarm among the chirpings of some innocent insects, and the Concertos of Bullfrogs, the latter like the symphonies of Beethoven needing no programmes, as speaking for themselves to the mind of that contemplative gentleman. He is unquestionably an honest, kind-hearted, good soul, talking eloquently with the angels. . . . Mr. Dwight is really very distantly located from full good orchestras, and has probably heard very little of orchestral effects, combinations and professional tactics. Upon the very imperfect, nay

<sup>8</sup> Mr. O. G. Sonneck's last piece of writing, before his death in 1928, was a note on Heinrich, which he contributed to the "Dictionary of American Biography." *Ed.*

slovenly, confused execution of my orchestral works in Boston I cannot accept any criticisms or forestallings of judgment on my musical ways. . . . I will give however to the erudite Mr. Dwight full credit for the handsome manner with which he covered the Boston Musical Murders, touching merely slightly on them, tinselling the main failures over with some other extraneous direct remarks on my music like an inspired kind-hearted schoolmaster. . . . Should it ever be my melancholy lot to compose a doleful ditty for some departed disciple of the *Fourier System* I promise faithfully to introduce nothing but *Sordini* and dampers of all sorts to make reparation to the gentle, susceptible Mr. Dwight of the rural philanthropic social spot of Brookfarm, of which Eldorado full of the Beethoven works I should indeed like to be *Maestro di Capello* [!]. I have however never taken any pattern from Beethoven or anybody else. Mr. Dwight judges a great deal by faith and musical superstition. He discovers so much meaning in Beethoven. I congratulate him upon so important a discovery at my expense. Had my instrumental works been properly performed in Boston they would possibly have acted quite otherwise upon the Yankee notions, or upon the Musical Philosopher of the placid Brookfarm, where no cymbals or the rolling of the drums disturb the music of nature, except, perhaps the merry peal of the gong for their frugal dinner and love feasts. . . . To tell you the truth, I like Mr. Dwight extremely well, for he writes so contrary and ideal. He rails gently at my programmes whilst all the while he makes in his speeches all sorts of metaphysical metaphors and creates wonderful imagery, far beyond my summersets. . . .

Heinrich realized, rightly, that Dwight's experience in listening to music (especially orchestral) was limited and not likely to be greatly widened in the Boston of the 1840's. He was largely right in saying that Dwight judged by faith and superstition. But the caustic remarks seem to be as much the result of a poor performance (which can disturb the most equable temper) as the consequence of an inadequate criticism. He was forced to admit that, had the performance been different, the ensuing article might have been otherwise.

One of the first estimates of Dwight's work as a whole appeared in *A Prospectus of a Hundred Years of Music in America* (Chicago, 1889). The book was published anonymously, but its two editors were Glanville L. Howe and W. S. B. Mathews. The latter had been a contributor to *Dwight's Journal* for a number of years and his testimony should be of considerable value. But his several accounts of Dwight vary so much that little reliance can be placed on their accuracy. The *Prospectus* states that Dwight's magazine was the first purely musical journal in the United States. It gives the interesting but not surprising information that the circulation was always small, although it increased greatly after Ditson became its publisher. It proclaims that Mr. Dwight's chief virtues were his unfailing enthusiasm for music and his

remarkable fluency in writing. With his elegant style, says the *Prospectus*, he was able to attract all those of refined and poetic nature and his judgments were implicitly accepted. His great fault was the lack of progressiveness. In conclusion: "Mr. Dwight's zeal in the cause of foreign classical music has, in our judgment, led him into the error of being unable to regard with the eyes of just appreciation those musical efforts which are strictly American, and this to such an extent that he has been accused of prejudice against native talent."<sup>9</sup> Mathews, a few years later, treated Dwight more kindly in an article for *Music. Dwight's Journal of Music* is now called the first paper to attain national importance, and its "influence was entirely disproportionate to its size and circulation. Young musicians looked to him as a leader, although they felt his advice and activity too restraining and conservative for the changed conditions in music."<sup>10</sup>

The following year, the same writer prepared an obituary notice, in which he admitted that all "well-educated young men" returning from music study in Europe had had a sincere welcome and support from Dwight. He wrote also that the Boston critic was uncertain [!] in estimating the value of new music, made one more reference to Dwight's conservatism and quoted part of a letter written by Dudley Buck in 1871 in which the composer defines Dwight's musical credo: "Bach, Händel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Weber, Chopin,—Lord, it is enough; now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."<sup>11</sup>

William Foster Aphorp has given us the best personal description of Dwight. Reading his essay, *John Sullivan Dwight*, we see the man for the first time and learn why he was guilty of that conservatism which his contemporaries found so objectionable.<sup>12</sup> Aphorp, himself a skilled musician, gives a detailed account of Dwight's strictly musical failings, and considering these fully it is remarkable that Dwight accomplished what he did. According to his friend and colleague it is doubtful if he ever studied music seriously, certainly not intensively. He never played the piano well, and he acquired but a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of harmony. He had very little natural musical facility, but this, of course, did not hinder him from gaining a wide acquaintance with musical form and terminology. He fol-

<sup>9</sup> "A Prospectus . . .," p. 374 ff.

<sup>10</sup> In *Music*, July 1892.

<sup>11</sup> In *Music*, September 1893.

<sup>12</sup> "Musicians and music-lovers." By W. F. Aphorp. New York, 1894.

lowed an orchestral score only with difficulty. Nevertheless, his instinct led him, dependably enough, to what he considered "the pure and beautiful," and these qualities the classical composers furnished him in abundance. He had no patience with what was big but not great; no toleration for the common, vulgar, or morbid. It was due to his fine instinct and intellectual honesty that his paper was "the highest-toned periodical of its day, all the world over." Besides crediting Dwight with the best paper in the world, Apthorp claims for him as fine a literary style as any American had cultivated.

Our knowledge of Dwight is not increased by the brief discussion accorded him in Louis C. Elson's *The History of American Music* (New York, 1904) or by the curt reference in John Tasker Howard's *Our American Music* (New York, 1931).

The first writer to grasp the significance of Dwight and his work is William Treat Upton, of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music. In his valuable work on American song, Mr. Upton points out the strong attraction of Germany for American students between 1850 and 1870, and then writes: "Almost commensurate with this powerful influence abroad was that of Dwight's *Journal of Music* here at home. . . . The name of John Sullivan Dwight should be coupled with that of Theodore Thomas as the two most influential individuals in America in our earlier day, in molding public taste, in elevating the standard of music in every possible way. . . . He was vitally interested in all the musical doings about him, in the careers of serious-minded musicians everywhere, particularly of young Americans."<sup>13</sup>



Dwight did not have his eye fixed on the future, at least as far as the development of music was concerned. His objective was to bring the past into the present and to establish the classical and early romantic masters firmly in the hearts of the American people. His aim was high and the method of attaining his goal was sound. It consisted of advocating the best and of yielding to no compromise in obtaining it. His own musical shortcomings weakened his ability to distinguish invariably between the great and pseudo-great, but he was searching constantly and hopefully for a continuation of the golden (classical) age

<sup>13</sup> "Art Song in America." By William Treat Upton. Boston, 1930. p. 38.

of music. His god was Beethoven, and Bach and Mozart were but slightly lesser deities. Like Beethoven, he had a vision of music's uniting all mankind, of a great social brotherhood influenced and sustained by the art. Such a belief colored all his writing, from youth to old age, and must be considered in estimating his work. Before becoming a professional musician, he had been a professional socialist (in an ideal sense) and many of his lectures on music were tinged with socialism. This is revealed in Dwight's first article for the *Harbinger*, quoted here at some length.

Be it known then to our readers that . . . a musical department does exist; and from it an appreciating, yet sincere and fearless voice shall be heard whenever aught is passing in the musical world to claim its notice. Among the helpful movements of the day, the Unitary tendencies, which this paper, conceived in the spirit of Unity and Progress . . . is pledged to notice and both by criticism and by sympathy to help on, there is a Musical movement in this country. Our people are trying to become musical . . . Tones have reached us from those foreign shores where the Goddess of Harmony herself dwells, and inspires her Mozarts and Beethovens with great emotions and great art, to utter them in strains that haunt all souls with never dying hopes and aspirations. Yes! the practical American begins to respect music as an Art, as a language of the soul. . . . Musical as yet we are not, in the true sense. We have no composers; no great performances in our churches; no well-endowed and thorough academies to train the artist, or to educate the public taste by frequent hearings of the finest compositions, except in a very limited degree. . . .

Dwight connects this musical movement with the prevailing spirit of social unrest and claims for music spiritual preëminence because it is the one language that is understood in the uttermost parts of the earth; the language of deep emotional spirit in which all men are most nearly one. This being so—

We shall not say much of mere musical trifles. It shall be our business constantly to notice and uphold for study, and for imitation music which is deep and earnest; which does not merely seek to amuse; but which (be it in the form called Secular, or Sacred, be it song, or opera, or oratorio, or orchestra), is the most religious outpouring of the composer's life. We feel that we shall do most good by speaking most of the works of genius. . . . And yet so far as time permits, we trust that humbler efforts, conceived in a true spirit and with any promising signs of talent, shall not be beneath our criticism. . . . To guide the public taste in its selection, to inspire artists in their performance, and above all to exhort the musician to a high sense of the dignity of his profession, and teach others to respect it, too, shall be our aim in criticism. . . .

Three things we shall have in view. (1) The criticism of music as an Art;

(2) the interpretation of it as an expression of the life of the age; and (3) the development of its correspondence as a Science with the other sciences, and especially with the Science of the coming Social order, and the transition through which we are passing towards it.

Here is a noble, though highly subjective, standard of criticism which Dwight adhered to throughout his life. He fortunately ceased to mix socialism with music after a few years, perhaps because the coming "Social Order" did not materialize, but never did he stop feeling that music was a great ethical need of humanity. In 1870, he wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* the essay *Music as a Means of Culture*, containing this significant passage:

We as a democratic people, a great mixed people of all races, overrunning a vast continent, need music even more than others. We need some ever-present, ever-welcome influence that shall insensibly tone down our self-asserting and aggressive manners, round off the sharp, offensive angularity of character, subdue and harmonize the free and ceaseless conflict of opinions, warm out the genial individual humanity of each and every unit of society lest he become a mere member of a party or a sharer of business or fashion.

So long as Dwight entertained such a conception of music's destiny he could extend little sympathy to certain contemporary composers, be they foreign or American. If music had not the power to lift him from the "hard and hapless prose of daily life," it missed its purpose. Nothing answered his requirements better than a Beethoven *Adagio*; nothing suited him less than an excerpt from a late Wagner opera or a comparatively complex structure of Brahms. Thus was aroused the cry of conservatism, but the cause for it lay not in any personal like or dislike for a particular composer. It was part of the man's very essence and stretched beyond music into all his judgments and valuations. Had he been gifted with a keener musical ear, his pursuit of the beautiful might have gone farther, but his demands upon beauty would have been the same. Such an aesthetic creed has the advantage, at least, of satisfying him who holds and lives conscientiously by it.

\* \* \*

With the exception of Bach, the classical composers were well known, if not universally appreciated, in this country by 1850. Dwight was one of the first to champion Bach's music in America. It has so

far escaped the notice of the more recent Bach historians that, from October 27, 1855 to January 19, 1856, the *Journal of Music* published an English translation of Johann Nikolaus Forkel's biography of Bach. Prior to the entirely new and richly annotated translation of the book by Dr. Charles Sanford Terry (London, 1920), the only known English version was one printed in London in 1820. Terry himself knew of no other, and the German scholar Dr. Max Schneider lists only the British volume in his comprehensive Bach bibliography in the 1905 and 1910 volumes of the *Bach-Jahrbuch*. The early English book mentioned no translator, but now a man named Stephenson is credited with the work.<sup>14</sup> Terry knows practically nothing about Stephenson but finds his work very imperfect, his actual translating being awkward and his comprehension of musical details faulty. For years, however, it was the chief work available to English readers, excepting the few subscribers to *Dwight's Journal of Music*. There are interesting features about this mid-century American edition. Forkel's book contained eleven chapters, likewise Stephenson's; Dwight's version is divided into eleven sections, not chapters, the *Conclusion* in the magazine being the last half of chapter eleven, and chapter five is left out entirely. No reason is given for the omission of a whole chapter. Something still more surprising calls our attention. The first four chapters are a reproduction of Stephenson's (the early London) translation, but the remainder of the book was translated by another, undoubtedly Dwight. The Boston editor cannot be positively designated as translator, for his name appears nowhere; yet the belief is quite justifiable, for he was constantly preparing German articles for his readers, and, when the work was not his, the translator's name was generally given. In any case, the work remains America's first known contribution to Bach scholarship and study.

There is much of interest but little of value in Dwight's writings on the music of Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn. These were composers who could do no wrong, and the Harvard Musical Association, under Dwight's leadership, gave many performances of their familiar and unfamiliar works. The early romantic composers, especially Mendelssohn, had a cordial friend in Dwight, but the later romantics did not fare so well. His antipathy to Wagner's music reached such proportions as to be amusing, although it rebounds to Dwight's credit

<sup>14</sup> Terry's ed. of Forkel's *Life*. London, 1920. Introduction.

that the pages of the *Journal* were crowded not only with Wagnerian articles, both pro and con, but also with translations from Wagner's writings. Indeed, the New England public was educated to Wagner and his theories largely through this paper, and eventually Dwight discovered he had started a flood that could not be stopped.

\* \* \*

The importance of John Sullivan Dwight to American music must stand or fall by his influence on, or encouragement of, that music. His writings, by which posterity judges, come nobly to his aid and give conclusive evidence that, when his conscience allowed, all his power and ability were spent in supporting the native composer. Before glancing at his criticisms of American composers, we must remember that Dwight travelled little from Boston; therefore, important musical dates in Philadelphia, New York, etc., while receiving due notice in the *Journal*, did not get much personal consideration from him.

One of the earliest reviews which Dwight wrote dealt with the concert, already mentioned, for "Father" Heinrich. The critic stated (and according to the composer's own words, rightly) that the concert gave no opportunity to test the value of Heinrich's genius. The ensemble was poor and the instrumental playing was not well controlled. But the music was alive with beautiful ideas and passages that were grand and impressive. Upton quotes the entire article in his (as yet unpublished) biography of Heinrich and regards it as the "finest contemporary critique of Heinrich's work" that has come to light.

C. C. Perkins, a thoroughly German-trained and competent composer, heard occasional performances of his works which were reviewed generously and conscientiously by Dwight. Early in 1855, Perkins's choral work *The Pilgrims* was played twice. Dwight attended both concerts, writing after the first that he preferred to await the second hearing before making a statement. In the *Journal* of March 3, 1855, the statement appeared.

We were not disturbed with discords between instruments and voices as before. . . . There were marks of careful study and of skilful combination in the work. . . . But as a whole the composition seemed without any very positive and characteristic style; the movements did not seem to grow naturally out of one another; it could scarcely have been conceived at once in one happy inspired moment, as a whole, after the method and genius of Mozart. . . . Comparatively we could not become very

deeply interested in the cantata; not so much as in several of the author's chamber compositions in classical form which we have heard before.

One of these chamber compositions was reviewed in the *Journal* of January 5, 1856, and consistently enough Dwight wrote of Perkins's piano quartet in B flat, op. 13,

To three movements, at least, of Mr. Perkins's new piano quartet we listened with great interest. . . . It was in the finale this time that we found our attention flagging. . . . But the Allegro with interesting, well-developed themes . . . the Scherzando and the Andante had a great deal of beauty, in their several ways; the former [Scherzando] very rapid, light, graceful, the latter having considerable richness of harmony and tenderness of sentiment. As a whole this quartet seemed to us really in advance of its author's previous efforts.

Perkins is remembered, albeit faintly, today; Robert Stoepel is not. A review by Dwight of the latter composer's *Romantic Symphony*, a declamation accompanied by orchestra (based on Longfellow's *Hiawatha*), gives an excellent idea of his attitude towards lesser men and his resentment towards contemporary newspaper criticism. In the *Journal* of January 15, 1859:

Newspaper critics riot in superlatives, as if they had discovered a new Shakespeare. They talk of its marking an era in our musical history; of "his *infinite* resources of counterpoint and imitation" (more could not be said of Bach or Handel); of "imaginative and creative genius of the highest order" (what is there left to say of Beethoven or Mozart?); of having "found *no* instrumental writing finer than this of Mr. Stoepel's," and more *ad nauseam*. Let us, at least, avoid all such extravagance. Better for the artist that his work fail to meet due recognition all at once, or for a long time, than that it go forth coupled from the first with such pretensions. . . . For ourselves, in speaking of Mr. Stoepel's music, we feel that it would be presumption either to call it *great*, to hail it as a work of high imaginative genius, or to deny that it has real claims upon the world's attention. . . .

Years later Dwight reviewed an *Overture* to an unpublished cantata composed by Dudley Buck. Had the criticism appeared earlier the composer might have refrained from penning the remark already quoted. In the *Journal* of February 7, 1874:

Mr. Buck's overture was warmly received and evidently gave sincere pleasure. He did not write it for the Harvard concert or he would have essayed, perhaps, a higher and more serious flight. . . . The overture is light, somewhat theatrical, pleasing, if not very fresh, in its ideas, but in its form and treatment shows the facile hand of one who is really musical and well taught.

The Harvard Musical Association, after nearly forty years of steady labor, attained its goal: the establishment of a music professorship in Harvard University. In the *Journal* of August 31, 1875, Dwight comments on the appointment of J. K. Paine to this important post.

So far as a single man may hold the place we know not one who would be more competent. . . . [One who is] at home in all the science and the ready use of counterpoint; a composer who has produced his proofs in many of the largest forms of composition with a good measure of success.

The *Journal* of February 5, 1876, carries this cordial appreciation, written by Dwight, of Paine's first symphony.

We listened to the whole work with pleasure and surprise. It is beautiful, it is earnest; it is learned and yet not manufactured but flows naturally as from a full deep source, and it affects you as one live consistent whole. What most struck us as a mark of progress . . . was the much greater freedom with which it was composed. . . . Whether it is a work of genius is a question always better left to time.

Dwight wrote an equally enthusiastic review of Paine's overture to Shakespeare's *As You Like it* (*Journal*, December 9, 1876) which may be passed by. Of far greater importance in forming an estimate of Dwight's critical nature is one which he wrote for his paper of December 22, 1877. The occasion was a performance of Paine's symphonic fantasia based on *The Tempest*. The editor, rather cold at first, found the work more to his liking upon repeated hearings, but most noteworthy is his answer to the unlimited praise bestowed on the composer by John Fiske.

When Mr. Fiske prefaces his analysis with the grave assertion that these works of the Cambridge professor may hold their own with those of any masters old or new we must decline all argument. These are the pardonable and no doubt sincere superlatives of friendship, and we would as soon dispute a lover's transcendental tribute to his mistress' eyebrow.

The late George W. Chadwick won an enviable position among American composers, and Dwight's criticism of his *Rip van Winkle* overture, in the *Journal* of December 20, 1879, should be especially interesting to the many musicians acquainted with the work and its author.

Mr. Chadwick's Overture more than justified the interest with which it was anticipated. It is a fresh, genial, thoroughly well-wrought, consistent, charming work. . . . The slow introduction impressed us as the finest part; it opens rich

and broad and when the horns come in it is positively stirring. The two principal themes, worked up singly and together throughout the long *Allegro*, are happily chosen and effective. The instrumentation is rich and varied, full of pleasing contrasts, never glaring, but all artistically blended; indeed, the young man seems entirely at home in the orchestra. We perceived none of those traits of Wagnerism which some have felt themselves called upon to find in his scoring; the brass, to be sure, is freely used, but only richly, not overpoweringly.

Such criticisms are not exceptional; they are typical of Dwight's reaction to American music. Not one tends to lessen the composer's standing, publicly or professionally, nor would one cause an artist undue elation over a popular success. Each of the reports quoted here, as well as many others in the pages of the *Journal*, offers the composers concerned not only encouragement to go on but also a challenge to reproduce or find again that quality of greatness reposing in the masterpieces of classicism. The published writings of Dwight testify that he was more than a strong stimulus; he was a healthy check upon young composers in an age of uncritical public adulation or censure and extravagant, praise-wasting journalism. Has posterity dealt any more kindly with Dwight's contemporaries than he did himself?

Elson calls Dwight, rightly, the father of American musical criticism. For a generation he *was* American criticism; and although succeeding and present-day critics (not all) have surpassed him in technical accomplishment, none has exceeded him in integrity of purpose and wholehearted devotion to musical beauty and its cultivation.

## FOLK-SONGS OF MODERN GREECE

By RODNEY GALLOP

THE DAY has gone by when in the mountain villages of Greece the traveller could meet with wandering bards who, accompanying themselves upon a five-stringed mandoline or a pear-shaped fiddle held upright on the knee, used to sing interminable "klephtic" ballads dealing with the long years of warfare with the Turks, which preceded the national liberation. These minstrels were blind, for the most part, and the names of many have been forgotten, though one at least has survived, that of Panagioti Tsopanakos of Dimitsana in Arcadia, who was born in 1789 and died in 1825, and who thus lived through one of the most stirring periods of Greek history.

The "klephtic" songs are written in so-called "political" verses of fifteen syllables with a cæsura after the eighth, such as are known to have been used for the popular poetry of Byzantium. Whatever may have been the fate of their music, their words have been preserved in the collections made during the last century by Passow, Fauriel, Politis, and others. Many of them, moreover, are still sung and played, albeit in a fragmentary form, having been put to a different use (though it may well have been theirs when the form first originated), to wit, the dance. In Greece, as elsewhere, dance must have preceded song, and if the "klephtic" songs are sung in part to a free and highly ornate if somewhat monotonous recitative, their outstanding feature was always the refrain, usually in an emphatic dance-rhythm. Since dancing is still a national pursuit, both words and music of many of these ballads have thus been preserved in the popular tradition.

The literal meaning of the word "klepht" is "thief" or "brigand," but its current acceptation is far wider, and it is applied more particularly to those Greek outlaws who took to the mountains rather than submit to Turkish rule.

It is recorded that immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, some of the shepherd tribes dwelling in the remote fastnesses of Epirus waged a guerrilla warfare against the Turks, which to all intents and purposes ceased only with the liberation of Greece

some four centuries later. Theodore, Bishop of Ephesus, threw in his lot with these rough nomads, and it was from the neighborhood of the Pindus range that he wrote a letter to Lascaris adjuring him to "endeavor to rouse your polished nations to the cause. I am firing the hearts of our barbarians."

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, when Morosini and his Venetians were conducting in Attica and the Morea the campaign that resulted in nothing more lasting than the ruin of the Parthenon, armed bands organized themselves in Northern Greece, and remained in a more or less constant state of insurrection until the War of Independence. The eighteenth century is associated with the names of such leaders as Yanni Boukvalas, Yanni Stathas, Giphtakis, Gouras, and Androutsos. The last-named, the hero of the Peloponnesian revolt of 1769, survived a running fight through the mountains of the Northern Morea only to be treacherously surrendered to Turkey by the Venetians at Cattaro while on his way to Russia.

Apart from their political mission of opposition to the Turks, these outlaws were obliged, in order to maintain themselves in their haunts, to make marauding expeditions into the plains, which brought them into conflict not only with the Ottoman authorities, but also with those of their own countrymen who had submitted to Turkish rule. Thus was suggested to the Turks the idea of forming a Greek peasant militia to combat this scourge. The new institution, which had originally been an invention of Byzantium, was called the *armatolik*, and its rank and file were known as *pallikaria*. The antagonism between klephts and armatoles was, however, more apparent than real. If the former sometimes took the opportunity in times of peace to turn an honest penny by joining the *armatolik*, the latter were equally ready to go over to the enemy. So that when, at the end of the eighteenth century, the notorious Ali Bey Tepelen, the Tosk Albanian who had taken advantage of the anarchy prevailing in Epirus to make himself Pasha of Yanina, feeling that the armatoles were growing too powerful, judiciously seeded them with Mussulmans, the Christian armatoles and pallikars took to the hills, and their names became synonymous with "klepht."

It is the rough lives of these outlaws, and their epic combats against the Turks, which form the subject of the klephtic songs. The spirit of sturdy independence which runs through them all is well exemplified in the famous song of Olympus and Kissavos, the two great mountains of Northern Greece:

*Olympus and Kissavos, the two peaks, dispute and vie  
 To unloose showers and blizzards;  
 Kissavos rains and floods, and Olympus storms with snow.  
 Then Olympus turns and speaks thus to Kissavos;  
 Frown not upon me, O thou Turk-trodden Kissavos,  
 Turks from Konia trample thee underfoot, and Aghas from Larissa.  
 I am Olympus, grey with age, of world-wide fame,  
 Forty-two peaks have I, and fountains sixty-two,  
 Each peak bears a banner, and every twig a blossom.  
 For the mountains are full of klephths as are the plains of slaves,  
 And I shelter the golden eagle with his gold-glittering feathers.*

Although there are kleptic songs dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the most thrilling are perhaps those which go to form the so-called Saga of Suli, and describe the wars fought at the end of the eighteenth century between Ali Pasha and the heroic band of Greek outlaws who, under the leadership of Tsavellas and Botzaris, so long resisted all attempts to dislodge them from their mountain fastness near Agrinion. This epic contest ended tragically. Veli Pasha took the fortress of Suli by treachery, and was false to his undertaking to spare the lives of its defenders. With a small party, Kitso Botzaris retired to the mountain of Zalonghos, the scene of the most dramatic episode of the rising. A number of women and children found themselves cut off by the Turks, with nothing but a precipitous chasm behind them. Rather than surrender, these heroic women preferred to fling their children into the abyss. Then, forming a circle, they linked hands and began to dance the *Syrtos*, singing the familiar measures of their favorite dance-song. Round and round they went, and at the end of each measure, the last in the line released her neighbor's hand, danced up to the brink of the precipice, and flung herself over. In honor of this tragic event, the song of the Suliote women, which is still popular, has earned the name of "The Dance of Zalonghos":—

Ex. 1. *O Choros tou Zalonghou*

Allegretto





Such of the Suliotes as escaped death on this occasion, were besieged in the Agrapha district, where after four months' resistance they were finally slain, with the exception of 160 women who drowned themselves in the River Achelous, and fifty-five men and one woman who reached the sea at Parga and took ship to the Ionian Islands.

Another beautiful song with tragic associations is that of Katsantonis. It dates from 1806 when a number of insurgents from the Pindus and Ætolia districts assembled in the Ionian island of Santa Maura to concert with the famous liberator Count Capo d'Istria who was then Secretary to the Legislative Council of the septinsular republic. Under the leadership of Katsantonis they crossed to the mainland and raised the standard of revolt in the Agrapha Mountains. Betrayed by a local priest, they were surrounded in a cave where they lay hidden. Katsantonis, ill with smallpox, was too weak to fight, and was taken alive by the Turks who put him to an infamous death. He is immortalized in the following song:

*Last night I saw in my sleep, in my sleep as I slept,  
That I crossed five rivers, the one after the other.  
One river was turbid, turbid and red with blood,  
And I, black-browed, cried out with all my breath:  
"Courage, my children, let us fling ourselves across;  
Let us charge the Turks and take them captive."  
Then I awoke from sleep like an affrighted stag.  
I hear a loud voice crying, the loud voice of a warrior;  
The sentinel calls, the sentinel cries:  
"Arise Katsantonis, arise, my Captain,  
They have betrayed us, fallen on us, those Arnaut curs."*

*On what feet shall I stand? With what hands shall I grasp  
My rusty musket and my blackened sword?  
Come Georgakis my brother, come sever my head,  
That they take me not to the Pasha, to that dog of a Vizier,  
Go to my lair and find Lepeniotis.  
What can I do to you, Sough-Aga, you five-piastre Moor?  
A curse upon this smallpox which has laid me low.  
I would have shown you, Turkish dog, what stuff is Katsantonis.*

*I leave my band, I leave Lepeniotis  
To avenge my blood with Turkish heads.*

Not all the poems of Greek folk-song are warlike. There are also love-poems, seasonal songs and *moirologiai* or keening songs, many of which may be found in Abbott's "Macedonian Folklore." The island of Mykonos, hard by Delos, Apollo's birthplace, was till lately famous for its professional keeners, women who, while working in the fields, practiced their gift of improvisation on certain stock themes and were in great demand from near and far. "The idea of death in the mind of a modern Greek," wrote Bent, "is distinctly pagan: death to them is solely the deprivation of the good things of this life: their minds do not seem to be capable of looking forward to a future beyond 'dark grave' and 'black earth.' . . . Christian teaching has adapted to itself rather than obliterated ancient myths." So did these women, marking time with their feet and beating their knees with their hands, give voice over the dead to sentiments that have come from all antiquity.

On this gloomy theme, an amusing story is told in Mykonos. A merchant from the island who had lived for many years in Marseilles lay dying and asked his wife to sing the *moirologiai* over him. But the woman had been too long away from home and had forgotten how to set about it. "Never mind," said the dying man: "go and fetch my ledger. There you will find set down all that I have ever earned. Sing that."

\* \* \*

In comparison with the poems, the music of Greek folk-song has been singularly neglected by collectors. It may be said, indeed, that the gramophone record affords a better bibliography of the subject than the printed page. The Gramophone Company (and, I believe, other companies as well) has made a series of excellent and representative records of Greek folk-music, which, if they are not actually authentic performances, reproduce with the utmost fidelity every quality of the authentic folk-style. It is partly from records, whose contents, so far as I know, have not previously been transcribed, and partly from my own notations of songs which have grown familiar to me through frequent repetition, that the musical examples here quoted are taken.

There is, however, at least one collection of Greek folk-songs with both words and music, which is of first-class value. In 1910, the Odeion of Athens formed a committee under the direction of K. A. Psachos, an authority on Byzantine music, and Armand Marsick, a French musician resident in Athens, for the scientific collection of folk-music. Armed with a recording phonograph, members of the committee made very profitable expeditions to the villages of Mourla near Aigion in the Morea and Lakkoi near Canea in Crete, until the outbreak of the Balkan wars put a stop to their activities. Fifty of the most interesting songs collected on these two expeditions were printed under the title *50 Demode Asmata Peloponnesou kai Kretes*. From the wax records, M. Psachos transcribed the melodies into Byzantine musical-notation, in which form they figure on the left-hand page, and, in order that the work should not remain a closed book to all except Byzantinologists, the tunes have been re-transcribed as accurately as possible into staff-notation on the right-hand page.

The advantages of this procedure are obvious. The question of the relationship between ancient Greek, Byzantine and modern Greek music, and the question whether Byzantine music was influenced by, or itself influenced, the music of lands lying further east, may best be left to specialists. There can be no doubt that the Byzantine notation is far better adapted than staff-notation to the transcription of the free rhythm and florid ornament (the latter being akin to that introduced by John Koukouzelis into Greek church-music of the fourteenth century) characteristic of much Greek folk-singing.

The following is a good example of the results achieved by Psachos and Marsick. It is a kleptic song taken down from the singing of Nikolaos Kalaboki, an old man from Mourla in the Morea:

Ex. 2. *Symboule Gerontes Klephou*

Largo

The curious recitative, so ornate yet so austere, is very characteristic of the older *klephtika*. These runs and flourishes are not mere bravura, nor are they exclusively decorative in their function. They are an integral part of the melodic fabric, which would lose much of its character if it were deprived of them. They reappear in the music of *Laphina*.

Ex. 3. *Laphina*



The division of folk-songs into a slow and primarily narrative section and a livelier, more obviously choreographic, refrain, is not, of course, peculiar to Greece. It is found also in Portugal, among other countries, where there is reason to believe that even the slower section may also in its origins have been connected with the dance. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, to find that in some Greek songs both sections are in definite, albeit differing, rhythms. Such a song is that which deals with Kolokotronis and his heroic band, who defeated the Turks at Nemea:

Ex. 4. *Oi Kolokotronaioi*





The most usual form, however, is the recitative followed by a refrain in one of the three principal dance-rhythms, those of the *Tsamikos*, the *Syrtos*, and the *Chasapikos*; and, since the dance is nowadays the principal object of the song, the recitative is often dispensed with.

The *Tsamikos*, which may possibly take its name from the Tsams, an Albanian-speaking tribe who inhabit a wild district of Epirus known as Tsamouria, is a slow dance in a heavily accentuated  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, of which the fundamental beat usually consists of a semibreve and a crotchet, or of a dotted quaver followed by a semiquaver and four quavers. One of the most beautiful of these songs is *O Άετος* (The Eagle):

Ex. 5. *O Άετος*



The *Syrtos* (literally "drawn along") now more usually called *Kalamatianos* after the town of Kalamata, is in a lilting  $\frac{7}{8}$  measure divided into  $\frac{3}{8}$  and  $\frac{4}{8}$ , which is sometimes made to sound almost like the rhythm of the tango:

Ex. 6. *E Kalamatiane*



The *Chasapikos* (Butchers' Dance) is in a quick  $\frac{4}{8}$  time identical with that of the Serbian *kolo* (or with one variety of it) from which its alternative name of *Servikos* suggests that it may be derived.

Ex. 7. *Ta Koritsia Servika*



The tonality of Greek music is less easily described than its rhythm. Many of the tunes are in the Byzantine modes. Since some of these do not differ, except in the matter of pitch, from the Gregorian modes of Western Europe, it will be more convenient to define them in terms which will be familiar to the musical reader.

Apart from airs in the major key, which does not appear to be indigenous in Greece, many of the melodies are to all intents and purposes written in western modes, in both their authentic and plagal forms, such as the Dorian (See Ex: 1), the Mixolydian (See Ex: 4) and the *Æolian* (See Ex: 5).

In other cases, however, Oriental influences, such as affected Greek church-music in the seventeenth century, have resulted in the introduction of the chromatic augmented-second into the tetrachord, and the Byzantine modes are thereby given a decidedly eastern coloring. As in Serbian music, this chromaticism is not introduced consistently. *Gheorghitsa*, for instance, which would have been worth quoting for its rhythm alone, is in the ordinary Mixolydian until the last phrase:

Ex. 8. *Gheorghitsa*



In *Tourka* the tonality changes from major to minor before the augmented second appears:

Ex. 9. *Tourka*

Moderato

A number of these Greek melodies show an interesting lack of modal definition, or an apparent shifting of the tonal centre, a phenomenon not uncommon in folk-song in all countries. This is particularly apparent in the two examples quoted below:

Ex. 10. *Ali Pasas*

Allegretto

Ex. 11. *O Platanos*

In both these tunes the tonic appears to alternate between two notes a whole tone apart, E and F-sharp. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation is to regard both tunes as founded throughout on the common tonic of B, in which case E and F-sharp become respectively the fourth and fifth notes of the scale.

To analyze the Greek folk-songs adequately would require a deeper knowledge of eastern music than I possess, but they well repay closer acquaintance both for their intrinsic beauty and for their interest as a half-way house between the music of east and west.

## NATIVE LITHUANIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

By JUOZAS ŽILEVIČIUS

IT IS only within the last thirteen years that the state of Lithuania and its people have begun to emerge from the obscurity that had enveloped them for almost four centuries before the World War. During almost all that time, if Lithuania was mentioned at all, it was generally thought of as a mere province of either Poland, Russia, or Germany, and, as such, unworthy of individual attention. The Lithuanians, suffering the fate of all subject peoples, were considered beneath the cultural level of their neighbors, and in general were accorded but scant notice by the world's scholars. For this reason their art, distinctively national and decidedly worth-while, lay hidden under a bushel, bringing joy and hope into the bleak lives of the people, it is true, but remaining quite unknown abroad.

The results produced by only a few years of research on the part of Lithuanian scholars, *e.g.* the monographs written concerning the way-side cross, apron, hand-embroidered belt, folk-song, and other art-expressions found among the unlettered rustics, have greatly astonished all who have become acquainted with them. New treasures are being unearthed at every step, treasures that point to an extraordinary appreciation of the beautiful among the Lithuanian peasantry.

It has been the author's privilege and pleasure to be one of the pioneer investigators in a most interesting and fertile field of musical study among his people—that of collecting and classifying their native instruments. And, indeed, very soon after the first steps into this new field had been taken, it became clear that, because of the great variety of these native productions and the peculiarities of their workmanship, Lithuanian genius in the construction of musical instruments would have to be rated with the best in Europe. It is therefore all the more regrettable that, until recently, native scholars have paid little or no attention to that part of their great cultural heritage with which we are here concerned. It is because of their neglect that many distinctive types of instruments have entirely disappeared, a large number leaving only a dim memory behind them.

An idea of the great extent of this inheritance may be gained from the fact that, within the short space of a year, the writer has been able to classify twenty-six distinct types of Lithuanian musical instruments. That this work was accomplished with the assistance of over a hundred voluntary co-workers in various parts of the country speaks well for the esteem in which the common people hold their musical patrimony.

Some of the instruments are undoubtedly indigenous to the country, and cannot be met with elsewhere. A second class includes such transient types as were brought in for a time by travellers, but failed, because of their unnational character, to appeal to the Lithuanian musician and gradually fell into disuse. In this class, it is safe to conjecture, there were some instruments that today have been entirely forgotten. There is also a third group consisting of instruments which are undoubtedly of foreign origin, but which, because of their suitability and appeal to the people, the Lithuanians have adopted and gradually adapted to their own peculiar needs, finally conferring upon them a semi-national character.

Fundamentally, all the instruments may be divided into the three usual groups: string, wind, and percussion. These are further subdivided into eight classes, which will herein be described separately.

#### STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

These instruments have been subdivided for convenience into three groups: those sounded without a bow (*i.e.* by plucking, etc.), those bowed, and those sounded by means of keyboard attachments.

**FIRST GROUP.**—In this group the most important instrument is the *kankles*. It is composed of a wooden frame with strings of various lengths stretched over it, like the sounding-board of a piano. Judging from recently conducted investigations, this instrument is native to the Lithuanians, though it was known to the surrounding peoples also, as for instance the Letts, Estonians, Finns, Poles, and inhabitants of north-eastern Russia. However, the instrument disappeared so completely from Poland during the first century of the Christian Era that today not even a copy of the Polish variant can be found. (Indeed, in describing the Polish *gesle*, historians generally use models of the Lithuanian *kankles*, though these two differ somewhat in details.) Except among the six peoples mentioned, the instrument appears to have remained unknown.

Polinski, the Polish historian, states that the *kankles* was a most

popular instrument in Lithuania until the end of the sixteenth century, after which it began to disappear. Before that time, the instrument adorned the palaces of the Grand Dukes and other nobles of the country. Today, strangely enough, popular fancy seems to have been recaptured by it and, with a few changes in the method of performance, it is fast regaining its former popularity. The number of strings varies. Examples are known with 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and even more strings, although the fundamental scale is pentatonic. The better quality instrument was made of dogwood. The variants found among the neighboring peoples differ from the Lithuanian type in a few details, especially the variants of the Finns and Russians, who construct the kankles after their own fashion. Some examples have been found in which the top of the wooden frame is sloped to the right instead of the left, as is usual. Examples of this kind require a special method of performance.

The music of the kankles is of a melancholy character, and was very often used for religious ceremonies. To explain its association with expressions of a solemn character, the people tell a touching story concerning the origin of the instrument. The story is in the form of a ballad, and shares some of its important features with well known legends of other countries. It seems that a fisherman living on the shores of the Baltic had two daughters. The elder was melancholy and as silent as the night. The younger most beautiful and charming as the day. She fell in love with a young man, who gave her a ring. The elder sister envied her his love, and planned to kill her. She pushed the younger sister into the sea, saying that her beauty should thenceforward adorn the depths. The younger begged for mercy as she began to sink, and even offered to give up the ring if her sister would save her. But her plea went unheeded, and her bones were left to waste away on the sandy bottom. Later her lover went to fish in the selfsame spot, and his seine brought up what was left of her hair and body. From these, overwhelmed with grief, he fashioned the frame and strings of the first kankles. Finding the elder sister, he lamented his misfortune and declared that she should never find peace again because of her crime.

The *cymbalum* is likewise composed of a wooden frame with stretched strings, but the frame is usually rectangular. The strings are sometimes struck by small hammers. Today this instrument is widely used in Hungary, though originally it came from the East. Some examples have only a dozen strings, while others exist with 48, 72, 80, 110, or more.

The *psaltery*, like the cymbalium a forerunner of the piano, is well known to the unlettered country-folk. It has a long history among the Lithuanians, though today it is no longer used. Lepner, in his "Der preussische Littauer," declares that before 1690 it was very popular in the country.

SECOND GROUP.—This group, consisting of bowed instruments, includes three specimens of special interest.

The *boselis* is a primitive viol with an air-filled bladder (containing peas) for a bridge. This peculiar viol is undoubtedly native and the most primitive of all Lithuanian instruments. A long branch is tied at each end by a waxed string, and the string is vibrated by a rosined bow. The tone is strong and like that of a double-bass in quality. Similar instruments have been found among the Hottentots.

The *manikarka* is a one-stringed instrument with a bridge, similar to the 'cello. "Manikarka" is probably a corruption of "monochord," the name of a contrivance said to have been invented by Pythagoras for investigating the ratios of intervals. The manikarka is used a great deal today in the Reformed Church, when chorals are sung. Its tone is sweet and its resonance good.

The native *violin* is similar in shape to our modern violin, except that the frame immediately beneath the strings is covered with a skin and shows no sound-holes. The tone produced is quite pleasant and resembles that of the western violin.

THIRD GROUP.—This group is of the keyboard type.

The *Samogitian cymbalium* is the principal representative of this type. It is widely used in the part of Lithuania known as Samogitia, and, as with its prototype, the cymbalium, examples vary greatly in the number of their strings.

#### WIND INSTRUMENTS

These instruments are divided into four groups.

FIRST GROUP.—This group consists of whistles, of which the *skudutis* is the simplest. This is a plain tube, producing sound when blown across the top. Similar instruments are found among almost all peoples, the Chinese, Greeks, Grusians, and most primitive nations being acquainted with them. The Lithuanian type, however, has its individual features. It is from four inches to a foot in length, and is generally made of wood from the young ash or the buckthorn. In some examples the wood is hollowed out for only part of the length of the instrument;



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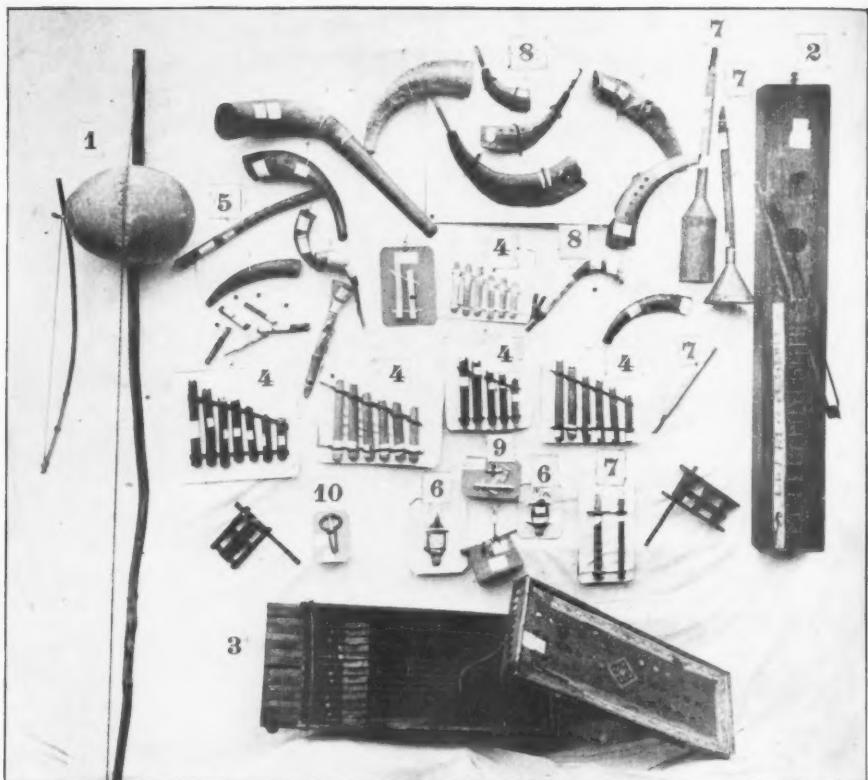
Examples of the Kankles



A Psaltery



Examples of the Trimitas



1. Bosclis   2. Manikarka   3. Samogitian Cymbalium   4. Skudutis  
 5. Vamzdis   6. Clay Pipe   7. Birbyne   8. Ragelis   9. Čekštukas  
 10. Bandura



Wooden Statue of King David  
 Playing the Kankles



Player with Labanoru Duda  
 (Bagpipe)

in others it is hollowed out for the entire length, and one end is closed by a piece of wood. The open end is cut at an angle on both sides in such a manner that, if a player places it to his lips and blows, a steady and clear tone is produced. The skudutis is always used in sets of five, six, or seven. The fundamental number is five, to correspond to the pentatonic scale which these pipes produce. Each pipe is of a different length from its fellows. All are fastened together by boards, and they present an appearance very similar to that of the syrinx or panpipes of the Greeks. The pitches of the first five pipes are *d-e-f-g-a*; when two others are added, their tunings are a small and large semitone above *a*. In rare instances, only three pipes are used. The music produced is simple and untempered, and is heard to best advantage in the open.

The *vamzdis*, or pipe, is of wood. It is ordinarily pierced at the sides by several holes, and is blown from the end, thus in principle resembling the organ pipe. It was very widely used until lately, having become gradually supplanted by more modern instruments.

Of all instruments, it is the *clay pipes* that present the greatest opportunities for Lithuanian constructive genius to express itself. These pipes are modelled into animal shapes, and receive their names from the animals they represent. Thus we find "birds," "ducks," "horses," "dogs," and "roosters" being used as whistles by the country folk.

The *single* and *double whistle* are less interesting instruments.

**SECOND GROUP.**—This group of wind instruments is that possessing the single reed.

The *birbyne* is the most representative member of this class. Though differing from the clarinet in appearance, it produces much the same kind of tone, and can be substituted for the more usual instrument. Because of its limpid quality and wide range, the *birbyne* is very popular and extensively used. One variety is made of cane. The reed is fitted into the closed end of the cane, and several holes are cut in the sides. The tone produced by this variety is a loud one, resembling that of the oboe.

The *labanoru duda*, or bagpipe, was at one time very widely used, though now it is almost forgotten. It is composed of four parts, each made of several pieces. The chaunter (melody-pipe) is similar to the clarinet in shape, with a curved end. There are six holes on top, and one at the bottom, and two holes at each end on the side. The drone-pipe is much longer and thicker than the chaunter and has no holes, since it can produce only one tone, the drone-bass. In addition, there is a small tube used as a mouthpiece. The mouthpiece and the two pipes are

connected with a leather bag. The performer fills the bag with air through the mouthpiece, and, holding the bag under his arm, squeezes it when necessary to produce tones through the chaunter and drone. A distinctive peculiarity of this instrument lies in the fact that, while the mouthpiece itself possesses no reed, the chaunter and drone do.

The *ragelis* was made of natural horn, and there were several different varieties of the instrument. All produce pleasing effects, whether used as solo instruments or in ensemble. The *ragelis* was sometimes pierced with holes in the sides. The end was fitted with either a wooden or bronze mouthpiece. The *ragelis* was often artistically ornamented, and sometimes Lithuanian hieroglyphics were carved into the sides. It possessed a peculiar notation of its own, differing from other musical notations. The tone of the *ragelis* has a mournful character, but on the whole is very charming. Today the instrument has practically disappeared. Instruments similar to the Lithuanian horn may be found among the Slavs. Some horns used in hunting and for festivities possessed no reed, but these horns are not important. The most widely used horns had a small wooden reed, resembling that found in the modern clarinet.

THIRD GROUP.—This group is that using the double reed.

The *čekštukas* is a small tube with a double reed, producing a tone similar to a child's cry or the hoot of an owl. Today the instrument is gradually being forgotten. In the past its use was symbolic: for a short period after a wedding, old friends, indicating their desire for progeny, would produce the simulated child's cry when passing the home of newly-weds.

The *bandura* is a steel horn with a double reed and produces an extraordinarily sweet tone. Though it is used in Lithuania, it is almost entirely confined to gipsy bands, and, since these are international, the instrument is probably known in many lands and therefore possesses no peculiarly Lithuanian characteristics.

FOURTH GROUP.—This group, like the First, is of the reedless type: instruments belonging to it are blown with the lips, but in a different manner.

The *trimitas*, or trumpet, is as well known among the Lithuanians as is the *kankles*. The instrument comes in different shapes: some tubes have very wide bells, some bells are narrower, and some tubes are of equal girth from mouthpiece to bell. Some of the tubes are of buckthorn wood with bark, while others are simply made of brass. The

trumpet was used for various purposes besides entertainment, as, for example, in war, in the tending of flocks, and in religious services. But there was a separate species of horn that was especially dedicated to religion—the *daudyta*. It was from four to six feet long, and was used by the pagan priest for ritualistic purposes. The ordinary trimitas is occasionally made as long as fifteen feet.

This instrument, as well as others distinctively Lithuanian, is widely known to the people through prominent mention in fable and folksong. "Trimitas" itself, according to the historian Daukantas, is made up of two purely Lithuanian words, "*tris*," meaning "three," and "*mytas*," meaning "stake." It seems that the first trimitas was made of a pole or stake which had been cut into three parts, hollowed out, and put together again with tar. The name, therefore, means "a three-pieced pole," *i.e.*, a pole split into three pieces. The trimitas was so popular and widely used by the ancient Lithuanians that some historians of the Middle Ages attempted to interpret the name of the nation itself by alluding to the instrument. A story is told of the Grand Duke Kernius, son of the fabled Palæmon, who came from Rome to the river Vilia, and found the Lithuanians living on its farther side. These people being savages, the Romans had no name for them, and Kernius was hard put to it, when referring to them, for some appellation. When he noticed that they used the trumpet continuously in their daily lives, he began thinking of their country in Latin as the "Land of the Trumpet." "*Litus*" in Latin means "country" or "land," and "*tuba*" means "trumpet"; the two words put together, it is claimed, were contracted into "*Lituba*," which gradually became "*Lietuva*" or "*Lituva*," as the Lithuanians today designate their country. The story indicates the great age of the trimitas. The earliest traces of it to be found are those upon which Arnold Schering bases his statement that bronze trumpets were used in Scandinavia and by the Baltic peoples as early as the twelfth century before Christ.<sup>1</sup> In the twelfth century after Christ, the Lithuanians, according to Karamzine, a White Russian historian, used trumpets of wood.

In some districts of Lithuania, ensembles of five, seven, and more trumpets, are used with very pleasing effects. Curved wooden-trumpets covered with birch-bark are well known, and quartet groups are often

<sup>1</sup> *Tabellen zur Musikgeschichte*, Dritte Auflage, 1921, p. 2. [Readers of this article may be interested in consulting also Curt Sachs, *Die litauischen Musikinstrumente in der Kgl. Sammlung für Deutsche Volkskunde zu Berlin*, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* XXIII (1916), 1-Ed.]

found, sometimes even in churches. Part of the pagan Lithuanian ritual still extant describes the duties of mounted trumpeters at the head of funeral processions.

#### PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

These instruments form the third and last section.

These were the earliest instruments among the Lithuanians as among other peoples. Rhythm in music being the foundation of all else, means of producing it were necessarily contrived at the outset. Knocking, rattling, striking, clapping, and clucking, were the natural means of producing rhythm, and, to aid the people in expressing rhythm, large and small drums, rattles, knockers, glass and iron tappers, and boards of varying lengths, were used everywhere. Some of the primitive instruments are still in use today.

\* \* \*

Small orchestras composed of the ragelis, trumpet, native violin, and drums, were formed by the country folk, and, it appears, with excellent results. There is also a special combination in which skudutis, kankles, and singing, alternate. In the writer's opinion, this "trio" is the oldest "ensemble" in Europe today. When the music for it is played on well-tempered instruments, the result seems rather dissonant. When, however, the music is performed upon the untempered instruments for which it was intended, the effect is truly beautiful.

It was customary to use different ensembles for different occasions. For weddings, the bagpipe, horns, kankles, and occasionally other instruments, were used. On the eve of nuptials, however, when farewell parties were generally given, only the kankles was played. Special music was performed on the pipes as the bride's dowry was brought out. In fact, the Lithuanian peasant is an inveterate musician: there must be music—music made appropriate by a tradition persisting through the ages—to celebrate every important event in his life.

*(Translated by Valentine Matelis.)*

## VIEWS AND REVIEWS

HUNTING the American folk-song is becoming an increasingly popular sport. Not so many years ago the animal was proclaimed to be non-existent. Already it is on the verge of extinction. Among the first to discover and chase it was, quite properly, an Englishman—the late Cecil Sharp. To be sure, he was chiefly concerned with tracking down certain English origins of the American species. But he did much toward making others take up the chase, until now the hunting parties of American folk-lorists have assumed a fairly respectable number, and range all the way from trained and professional trappers to reckless amateur shots.

As a consequence, there has sprung up a system of private folk-song preserves (jealously watched over), with the inevitable poaching as a further result. The "song-bag" is stuffed with game of every sort, and not all of it bears closer inspection. But regardless of what is and what is not legitimate prey, the killing goes on lustily and promiscuously without much protest from the gamekeepers.

The fact remains that only during the last quarter of a century has the importance and also the astonishing wealth of American folk-material been fully recognized, and have serious efforts been made to collect and classify it. This material certainly imposes upon Americans, as a nation, the sacred duty to preserve it, as other nations—in Europe, for instance—have done for many years with their national heritage of song and poetry. As yet America does not possess a collection comparable to that which Erk or Böhme made for Germany, Kuhač for Yugoslavia, Balakireff or Rimsky-Korsakoff for Russia, Bartók or Kodály for Hungary, Tiersot and several others for France.

Scientific methods have improved since these collections were formed. Some of our American folk-lorists have availed themselves of such improvements. Especially has the difficult task of correctly recording folk-melodies, parlance, and dialects been greatly simplified by the use of the phonograph. But a grave problem persists: that of transcribing such records upon paper. It requires two approaches: the philological or literary, and the musical. It is seldom that one and the same person is expert in both.

To meet this problem, and to systematize and centralize the collecting

of folk material, the Library of Congress in 1928 organized its "Archives of American Folk-Song." Government funds were not available for the purpose. The generosity of the late Mrs. Alvin A. Parker, of Strafford, Pennsylvania, and the support of the Carnegie Foundation carried the work along for a few years. Yet, here was business distinctly the Government's. Once, when a late Speaker of the House of Representatives, in a mood of postprandial expansiveness, was sounded by his fair dinner partner as to whether he did not think Congress would appropriate the money necessary to continue and extend this important work, he shrewdly observed that the word "folk-song" could mean to the members from the South only one thing: "Little Zip-Coon," and that any attempt to collect such immortal ditties at Government expense would be mercilessly voted down.

We need not accept this gloomy though characteristic view as final. The wide appeal of folk-festivals, especially those recently inaugurated south of the Potomac, may yet help to bring about a change of heart and mind on Capitol Hill. For the moment, however, it is largely owing to the disinterestedness of Professor John A. Lomax, who is giving his services as Honorary Curator of the Archives of American Folk-Songs in the Library of Congress, that the Library is in a position to build up its folk-song collection, after a fashion. Mr. Lomax—well known for nearly twenty-five years as a collector of folk ballads—and his gifted son, Alan, have lately roamed the hills and swamps of the South, armed with a specially constructed recording machine. The spoils of their patient and often arduous hunt will be deposited in our National Library. A considerable portion thereof they have incorporated in their large and handsome volume of "American Ballads and Folk Songs" (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934).

The Messrs. Lomax, father and son, hit upon the ingenious idea that, since the radio and other mechanical devices were rapidly destroying the initiative of folk-singers by necessarily obviating the need of music-making among the people, the places to pick up unadulterated folk-songs were those where natural or enforced isolation kept the tradition pure. Thus they chose as their favorite hunting ground the far-off solitudes and the prison farms of Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

Perhaps as a result of this novel procedure, the book of the Messrs. Lomax gives one at first the impression that America depends for its folk-song literature chiefly on "Niggah" convicts and white "bums."

This impression is not altogether pleasant. Also it is somewhat misleading. There is probably not another nation in the world that can match this singular array of lyric effusions on a variety of crimes and vices. In a day when "public enemies" (in numerical order of ferociousness) abound, and when kidnappers and gangsters command not only large ransoms and rich booty, but the much more valuable front-page of every daily in the land, it would seem but natural that we should regard with tender interest a poetic lore that has for its chief subjects bloody affrays, drunken brawls, cocaine and whisky, "yaller gals," and damsels of shades much shadier.

We have no intention of trying to minimize what the often deeply inspired Negro has contributed in poems and tunes of an inimitable quality. No one can rob him of his laurels. Nor do we underestimate the "clinical" value of what the convict mind may evolve for its relaxation or solace. It casts a searching light into the dimmest recesses of the human heart. But we are not entirely convinced that the Spirit of America, when it blossoms forth—as that of other nations flowers in the treasures of epic and lyric folk-poetry—necessarily finds its truest and most telling expression in the songs of black "boys" who have exchanged their identity for a number and go by such picaresque nicknames as Iron Head, Clear Rock, Chin Shooter, Lead Belly, Mexico, Black Samson, Ligtnin', Can't Make It, Butter Ball, Ing Shing, Scrap Iron, Bowlegs, Tight Eyes, Double Head, Bull Face, Log Wagon, Creepin' Jesus, Long Distance, Burn Down, Steam Shovel, Rat, Black Rider, Barrel House, and Spark Plug. It is to these gentlemen, specifically, that Professor Lomax extends prefatorial thanks.

Now, what the aforementioned contributors had to offer, undoubtedly contains some verses of strong appeal and even poignant beauty. Mr. Lomax has selected them with cunning. And he presents them with a charm peculiar to himself. Readers of *The Musical Quarterly* will remember Mr. Lomax's delightful article, "Sinful Songs of the Southern Negro," in the issue of April 1934, and will not require to be told what fascinating yarns he can spin. The cloth he has here woven is, for the most part, of a somber hue: the drab color of prison uniform, the shoddy elegance of gamblers, harlots, dope fiends, and drunks. The seamy side of life stares us in the face. We do not wish to avert our eyes. Indeed, we owe Professor Lomax a debt of gratitude for having afforded us so gripping a spectacle. But we cannot bring ourselves to believe that, in presenting the public with a collection of American

Ballads and Folk-Songs, it was essential, or felicitous, to allot so prominent and large a place to the Morbid Muse.

\* \* \*

The selection of these ballads and songs may be debatable; but it represents after all the "personal choice of the compilers" which, no doubt, they had a perfect right to make. The reader accepts or rejects the choice according to whether or not it commends itself to him, whether or not he thinks that it really gives a "composite photograph" of American folk, without overstressing or distorting.

Personal preferences no longer enter into the musical notation of the tunes. Here we stand on grounds that admit of little or no debate. The notation is either correct or it is wrong.

Professor Lomax, to our knowledge, does not lay claim to the ability of judging which is which. He availed himself of the assistance of two helpers and counsellors. The evidence proves that these have repeatedly failed him. Mr. Lomax wisely limited the musical part of the book to the tunes, unharmonized and unaccompanied. But even the recording of the bare melodies of folk-songs is fraught with many and dire pitfalls. Mr. Lomax had the laudable aim to produce what he terms "a singing book." As such, his collection is far from being an unqualified success. In fact, there are examples galore that absolutely defeat Mr. Lomax's intention.

It may be difficult, or even impossible, always to transcribe upon paper the exact pitch of the singer. In this respect our musical symbols are notoriously deficient. But we have ways and means of expressing quite clearly a great number and variety of rhythmic combinations. The text holds the cue to the meter of the music. Violence to the natural prosody is the last thing that will make a song "singable."

Take for example the "Tie-Tamping Chant" (page 17). It will serve as an illustration in several respects: Mr. Lomax's graphic manner of "setting the scene," and his musical helpers' failure to do their part. Mr. Lomax writes:

Rochelle Harris, after a shovel had been found for him, stood before the microphone, tapped the cement floor, and sang, just as if he were out on some railroad line under the hot sun, packing in gravel around a tie. The accents in the music and text represent the blows of the tamper or the shovel.

Mr. Lomax then prints the words alone and carefully places accents

on the syllables that receive the stress. We defy anyone to make the meter of the tune, as written in Mr. Lomax's book, fit these accents; and we fear that poor Rochelle would soon throw his tamper or shovel away in disgust were he forced to tap the cement floor contrary to the natural pulse of his ditty.

It would lead too far, were we to pick at every tune that, in its notation, jars with the prosody of the text. One more sample must suffice. "The Connecticut Peddler" (page 317) for which "the music, words, and notes . . . were sent by Shirley Lomax Mansell and Bess Brown Lomax" has a fourth verse that should "be sung all in one breath" to a tune which is rhythmically so arranged that the points of stress fall on the vowels here set in bold type:

*And here are the seeds of asperagus  
Lettuce, beets, onions and peppergrass, etc.*

Here, as in many other instances, editorial vigilance might have averted bad collisions. Train wrecks have been the subjects of widely popular American songs. But neither Jack Hinton, Casey Jones, Joseph Michel, or Charley Snyder—all of them "good engineers"—came to greater grief than does Mr. Lomax when his musical notation leaves the rails.

There are cases where the tune nicely heeds the stress of the words, but where the musical phrase does not seem to "beat out" its proper span.

James Howard, a blind mountain fiddler of Harlan, Kentucky, supplied Mr. Lomax with the tune of "Down in the Valley." It is written in ten measures of three-four time. We venture to maintain that the fifth and tenth measures should be twice as long as they are in print, but we believe that the blind fiddler's tune would have been more accurately transcribed in four measures of nine-eight time, with an upbeat of three eighths. Again, there are tunes that are too long instead of too short. The chorus of "When the good Lord sets you free" will gain in rhythmic plausibility if the fourth and fifth measures are contracted.

We do not pretend that every folk-song should do the rhythmically obvious thing. That is not the folk-way. It often baffles by its subtlety. But there are errors in notation that are patent and frequently defeat Mr. Lomax's purpose of providing "a singing book."

One is puzzled to detect always what prompted the choice of key or voice-range in which these songs are presented. In many instances they

require transposition in order to come within the normal compass of a male or female voice.

In only one case, apparently, did Mr. Lomax's purveyors of folk-melody indulge in polyphony. "Dat lonesome stream" was sung by "Rat, Tight-Eye, Double Head, along with a chorus of other convicts at Camp D, Parchman, Mississippi." As put down by Mr. Lomax's musical amanuenses, "this fine spiritual" reveals that not only polyphony but also polytonality is practiced in Negro prison camps. If that example is correctly transcribed, it indicates a remarkable degree of harmonic independence between two voices or two groups of singers.

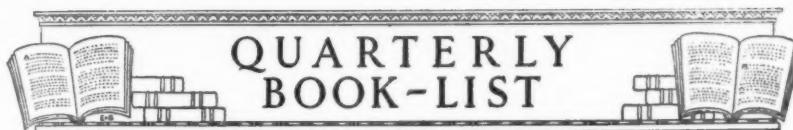
\* \* \*

A great many of the songs contained in this volume of more than 600 pages are, of course, not the direct fruit of Mr. Lomax's search, but have been "borrowed" from other and duly acknowledged sources. Nor are all of them "folk-songs" in the strictest sense of the word. There are "author songs," not all of which, however, seem properly labelled; such as for instance Professor Douglas Moore's "Destroyer Life" and the tune of "Zeb Turney's Gal." With the temptation ever at hand to appropriate a good tune regarded as "folkish" and the danger ever lurking that someone will jump from out the brush and claim a copyright, the bagging of folk-songs is no longer the safe sport that it used to be. The villains are not only in the ballads but after the ballad-mongers.

Of villainy—as we have been at some length to explain—there is a great deal in Mr. Lomax's volume. But there is also a considerable amount of charm, of picturesque humor, and of sensitive beauty. Even though one may quarrel with Mr. Lomax on several points, there is no denying that, if his book is not always a "singable" one, it is an eminently readable one, a remarkable storehouse of verses curiously alive with all the passions, aspirations, and despairs of mankind. That occasionally these emotions should make for criminals and desperadoes is, after all, perhaps not so much an American trait as it is a sadly human one. Lovers of "human documents" will revel in Mr. Lomax's book. As a representative collection of American songs, it can attempt to do no more than scratch the surface.

For the proper garnering and preserving of our vast folk-song literature, we should have an effective organization centralized in our National Library in Washington and adequately supported by Government funds. And there should be no time lost about it.

C. E.



# QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST

PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

**ANNESLEY, CHARLES**

The standard opera glass; detailed plots of the celebrated operas, with critical and biographical remarks and dates. Rev. ed. xxv, 865 p., 16°. New York: Brentano's, 1931.

**AVERY, EMMETT LANGDON**

Dancing and pantomime on the English stage, 1700-1737. (Diss., Chicago) p. 417-452, 8°. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1934. [Reprint from Studies in Philology, vol. 31, no. 3.]

**BARRY, K.**

Music and the listener; a guide to musical understanding. 126 p., 8°. Melbourne: Robertson & M., 1934.

**BAUMGARTNER, HOPE LEROY**

Notes on the courses in harmony and free counterpoint. (Yale University School of Music.) 86 l, 4°. New Haven: Whitlock's, Inc., 1934.

**BASSUK, ALBERT O.**

How to present the Gilbert and Sullivan operas. With a foreword by Dr. Sigmund Spaeth. 190 p., 8°. New York: The Bass Publishers, 1934.

**BLOCKSIDGE, KATHLEEN M.**

Percussion and pipe bands. 40 p. London: Augener, Ltd.

**BOWLY, A.**

Modern style singing (crooning). 122 p., 8°. London: H. Selmer & Co., Ltd.

**BROADHEAD, G. F.**

Orchestral and band instruments. 60 p. London: W. Reeves, 1934.

**BYRNE, MURIEL ST. CLARE**

Elizabethan life in town and country. 2d ed., rev., with an introduction. xxii, 295 p., 12°. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934. [Includes music.]

**CHANDLER, ALBERT R.**

Beauty and human nature; elements of psychological aesthetics. (The Century psychology series) viii, 381 p., 8°. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1934. [3 chapters on music.]

**CHAO-MEI-PA**

The yellow bell; a brief sketch of the history of Chinese music. 61 p., 8°. Baltimore: The Reese Press, 1934.

**COOKE, JAMES FRANCIS**

Musical travelogues; little visits to European musical shrines. 333 p., 8°. Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1934.

**CUMMING, C. G.**

Assyrian and Hebrew hymns of praise. (Columbia University Oriental Studies, Vol. 12) 176 p., 8°. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

**DENT, EDWARD JOSEPH**

Music of the Renaissance in Italy. (Annual Italian lecture of the British Academy, 1933) 27 p., 8°. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

**ELLIOT, J. H.**

Music—and how to enjoy it; a book for wireless and other listeners. 128 p. London: Blackie & Son, 1934.

**ELSON, ARTHUR**

The book of musical knowledge. 609, 14 p., 8°. New York: Tudor, 1934. [New ed.] Orchestral instruments and their use. New rev. ed. 340 p., 8°. Boston: The Page Company, 1930.

**THE ENGLISH FOLK DANCE AND SONG SOCIETY**  
Report, September 1st, 1932 to August 31st, 1933. 81 p., 8°. London: Cecil Sharp House.

**FRY, JOHN HEMMING**

The revolt against beauty; the source and genesis of modernistic art. xi, 212 p., 8°. New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934. [Chapter on music and the dance.]

**FULLER-MAITLAND, JOHN ALEXANDER**

The music of Parry and Stanford; an essay in comparative criticism, with a preface by Sir Henry Hadlow. viii, 116 p., 8°. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd.

**GAINES, NEWTON**

Some characteristics of cowboy songs. 10 p., 8°. Austin, Tex.: The Texas Folk-Lore Society, 1928.

## GARDNER, EDMUND GARRATT

Italy; a companion to Italian studies. x, 274 p, 8°. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934. [Italian music, by E. J. Dent.]

## GOETSCHIUS, PERCY

The structure of music. 170 p, 8°. Philadelphia: Theodore Presser Co., 1934.

## A GRAMMAR OF PLAINSONG, by a Benedictine of Stanbrook. 106 p. London: Rushworth &amp; Dreaper.

## GURMAN, JOSEPH, and MYRON SLAGER

Radio round-ups; intimate glimpses of the radio stars. 109 p, 4°. Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1932.

## HARPER, EARL ENYEART

Progress in church music. (Northwestern University bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 22) 16 p, 8°. Chicago: Northwestern University, 1930.

## HASKELL, ARNOLD LIONEL

Balletomania; the story of an obsession. xix, 359 p, 8°. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934.

## HORINE, JOHN WINEBRENNER

Sacred song; the hymns of our church. 183 p, 12°. Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1934.

## HUGHES, ANSELM

Anglo-French sequælae. Edited from the papers of the late Dr. Henry Marriott Bannister. 142 p, 8°. Nashdom Abbey, Burnham, Bucks: The Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society, 1934.

## JACQUES, R.

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Music Vale Seminary, 1835-1876. (Tercentenary Commission of the State of Conn.) 24 p, 8°. New Haven: Published for the Tercentenary Commission by the Yale University Press, 1934.

## JOSE, EVERARD

The significance of Elgar. 29 p, 8°. London: Heath Cranton, Ltd., 1934.

## KAUFMANN, SCHIMA

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## KENT, MARGARET S.

Suggestions for teaching rhythm to the deaf. 80 p, 8°. Frederick: Maryland School Press, 1934.

## KIRBY, PERCIVAL ROBSON

The musical instruments of the native races of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

## KORNERUP, THORWALD

Acoustic methods of work in relation to systematic comparative musicology. 56 p, 8°. Copenhagen: J. Jørgensen & Co., 1934.

## LEE, GEORGE WASHINGTON

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## LIGHTWOOD, JAMES T.

Hymn tunes and their story. 8°. London: The Epworth Press, 1934. [New ed.]

## LOMAX, JOHN A., and ALAN

American ballads and folk songs. With a foreword by George Lyman Kittredge. xxxv, 625 p, 4°. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

## LUTKIN, PETER CHRISTIAN

Hymn-singing and hymn-playing. (Northwestern University bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 51) 62 p, 8°. Chicago: Northwestern University, 1930.

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## ROBERT ANDERSON

Discovering music; a course in music appreciation. xvii, 334 p, 8°. New York: American Book Co., 1934.

## MCSPADDEN, JOSEPH WALTER

Opera synopses. Introduction by John Tasker Howard. Fifth ed., rev. and enl. xviii, 493 p, 8°. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934.

## MEYNELL, ESTHER

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## MÖRIKE, EDUARD

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## MOORE, O.

Fugue. 283 p, 8°. London: Jarrolds, Ltd., 1933.

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Ancient songs, chiefly on Moorish subjects. Tr. from the Spanish. With a preface by D. N. Smith. xviii, 56 p, 4°. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933.

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# QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST

PREPARED BY RICHARD GILBERT

**BACH, J. S.**

*Bist du bei mir.* Reverse: *Ave Maria* (Schubert). Elisabeth Schumann, s; orch. acc. Victor 8423.

*Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G major.* École Normale Orch. con. Alfred Cortot. Victor 4225/26.

*Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 in B flat.* Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Alois Melichar. Polydor 15066/67.

*Cantata No. 78: Jesu, der Du meine Seele: Wir eilen mit schwachen, doch emsigen Schritten.* Reinhart Choir, Zürich, con. W. Reinhart. Columbia 68228D.

*Concerto in A minor.* Bronislaw Hubermann, v. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Dobroy. Eng. Columbia LX329/330.

*Concerto in E major.* Yehudi Menuhin, v. Orch. con. Georges Enesco. Victor set M221. *Ein' feste Burg* (arr. Stokowski). Reverse: *Russian Christmas Music* (trad.). Philadelphia Orchestra. con. Leopold Stokowski. Victor 1692.

*French Suite No. 5 in G major; French Suite No. 6 in E major.* Harry Cumpson, pf. Columbia set 200.

*Toccata in F.* Anton van der Horst, o. Columbia 68229D.

*Musical Offering:* Trio (arr. Casella). Poltronieri, v; Bonucci, vc; Casella, pf. HMV DB2168/69.

"250th Anniversary album":

*Chaconne* (Partita in D minor).

*Chorale-Prelude: Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland.*

*Adagio* (Toccata in C major).

*Siciliano* (Sonata in C minor).

*Sarabande* (Third English Suite).

*Komm, süßer Tod.* All "freely transcribed by Leopold Stokowski." Philadelphia Orch. con. Stokowski. Victor set M243.

**BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN**

*Quartet in C major, op. 59, No. 3.* Busch Quartet. Victor set M171.

*Quartet in E flat major, op. 74.* Lener Quartet. Eng. Columbia LX319/20/21/22.

*Sonata in F major, op. 24.* Adolf Busch, v; R. Serkin, pf. Victor set M228.

*Symphony No. 4 in B flat, op. 60.* London Phil. Orch. con. Weingartner. Columbia set 197.

*Symphony No. 5 in C minor.* London Phil. Orch. con. Serge Koussevitzky. Victor set M245.

*Symphony No. 6 in F major, op. 68.* L'Association des Concerts Colonne. con. Paul Paray. Columbia set 201.

*Symphony No. 9 in D minor, op. 125.* Philadelphia Orch., chorus and soloists. con. Stokowski. Victor set M236.

*32 Variations on a Theme in C minor.* Side four contains *Chorale-Prelude: Rejoice, Beloved Christians* (Bach). Vladimir Horowitz, pf. Victor 1689/90.

**BERLIOZ, HECTOR**

*Roman Carnival—Overture.* Hallé Orch. con. Sir Hamilton Harty. Columbia 68221D.

**BIZET, GEORGES**

*Fair Maid of Perth—Prelude; Aubade; Gipsy Dance; March.* London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Thomas Beecham. Eng. Columbia LX317/18.

**BRAHMS, JOHANNES**

*Capriccio in G minor, op. 118.* Karly von Schönberg, pf. Polydor 10258.

*Quartet in G minor, op. 25.* Arthur Rubinstein, pf; Onnou, v; Halleux, va; Maas, vc. Victor set M234.

*Quartet in C minor, op. 51, No. 1.* Busch Quartet. Victor set M227.

*Quartet in C minor, op. 60.* H. Cumpson, pf; C. Towbin, v; D. Dawson, va; C. Stern, vc. Columbia set 198.

*Sonata in A major, op. 100, No. 2.* Adolf Busch, v; R. Serkin, pf. Victor 8359/60.

*Sonata in D minor, op. 108.* Paul Kochanski, v; Arthur Rubinstein, pf. Victor set M241.

*Symphony No. 4 in E minor, op. 98.* British Broadcasting Company Sym. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Victor set M242.

**BRUCKNER, ANTON**

*Symphony No. 1: Scherzo; Symphony No. 2: Scherzo.* Berlin State Opera Orch. con. Fritz Zaun. HMV C2685.

CARPENTER, J. A.  
*Adventures in a Perambulator*. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor set M238.

CHOPIN, FRÉDÉRIC  
*Barcarolle, op. 61*. Alexander Brailowsky, pf. Polydor 35014.

DAQUIN, LOUIS CLAUDE  
*Le Coucou*. (Reverse: *Bourrée d'Auvergne*—trad.) Wanda Landowska, harpsichord. Victor 1423.

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE  
*L'Enfant Prodigue—Prélude* (arr. Heifetz). Jascha Heifetz, v. HMV DA1376.

DONIZETTI, GAETANO  
*Linda di Chamounix—Duet, Act I; Duet, finale, Act II; Cavatina: O luce di quest'anima*. Lina Paglighi, s; Franco Perulli, t. Orch. con. F. Capuana. Italian Parlophone P56097/98.

DVOŘÁK, ANTON  
*Scherzo Capriccioso, op. 68*. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor 8418.

FAURÉ, GABRIEL  
*Pleurs d'or. Tarentelle*. Mlle. G. Cernay, ms; René Talba, t; pf. acc. French Columbia BF22.

FRANCK, CÉSAR  
*Redemption*—Sym. Poem. Orch. Concerts Poulet. con. Gaston Poulet. Columbia G68226/27.  
*Variations Symphoniques*. Alfred Cortot, p; London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Landon Ronald. Victor 8357/58.

GLINKA, MICHAEL  
*Russlan and Ludmilla—Overture*. Sym. Orch. con. Hans Knappertsbusch. Columbia G2130M.

GRIEG, EDVARD  
*Norwegian Dances, op. 35, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4*. London Sym. Orch. con. Leo Blech. Victor 11456/57.

HANDEL, G. F.  
*Concerto Grosso No. 10 in D (2nd and 6th movements)*. Cologne Chamber Orch. Columbia G17035D.

HARRIS, ROY  
*Three Variations on a Theme*. Roth Quartet. Victor set M244.

HAYDN, JOSEF  
*Quartet in D minor, op. 76, No. 2*. Poltronieri Quartet. Columbia 67215/16.

HINDEMITH, PAUL  
*Trio No. 2 (1933)*. Simon Goldberg, v; P. Hindemith, va; Emmanuel Feuermann, vc. English Columbia LX311/12/13.

LIADOV, ANATOL  
*Eight Russian Folk Dances*. Philadelphia Orch. con. Stokowski. Victor 8491/1681.

LOEWE, CARL  
*Der Nöck*. Wilhelm Rode, bar. pf. acc. German Odeon O-25158.  
*Tom der Reimer. Die Uhr*. Gerhard Hüsch, bar. German Odeon O-6879.

LONGAS, F.  
*Près de l'étang. Andalouse*. Tomaz Alcaide, t. pf. acc. F. Longas. French Columbia BF24.

MARCELLO, BENEDETTO  
*Sonata in F major: Largo; Allegro*. Rudolf Hindemith, vc; Alice Ehlers, cembalo. English Parlophone R1906.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX  
*Songs Without Words*. Karl Ulrich Schnabel, pf. Victor set M226.

MILHAUD, DARIUS  
*Les Songs—Ballet*. Orchestre Symphonique de Paris. con. Darius Milhaud. Columbia 17038/39.

MOZART, W. A.  
*Concerto in A major (K219)*. Jascha Heifetz, v; London Phil. Orch. con. Barbirolli. HMV DB2199/2200/01/02.  
*Concerto in A major (K488)*. Arthur Rubinstein, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Barbirolli. Victor set M147.  
*Concerto in B flat major (K595)*. Artur Schnabel, pf; London Sym. Orch. con. Barbirolli. Victor set M240.  
*Concerto in D major (the "Adelaide")*. Yehudi Menuhin, v; Orchestre Symphonique de Paris. con. Pierre Monteux. Victor set M246.  
*Concerto in D minor (K466)*. Edwin Fischer, pf; London Phil. Orch. Victor set M223.  
*Divertimento No. 9 in B flat (K240)*. Eight woodwinds of Berlin State Opera Orch. Victor 11715.  
*Don Giovanni: Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben. Die Zauberflöte: Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen*. Emmy Bettendorf, s;

Gerhard Hüsch, bar. Orch. acc. German Odeon 025094.

*Le Nozze di Figaro*—Overture. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*—Overture. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Wilhelm Furtwängler. Polydor 35013.

*Quartet in D major (K575)*. Kolisch Quartet. English Columbia LX337/338.

*Quintet in E flat (K452)*. Tafianel Woodwind Ensemble; Erwin Schulhoff, pf. Victor set M137.

*Quintet in G minor (K516)*. Pro Arte Quartet; Alfred Hobday, 2 va. HMV DB2173/74/75/76.

*Serenade, No. 6 (K239)*. Cologne Chamber Orch. English Parlophone R1905.

*Sonata in A major (K526)*. Hephzibah, pf. and Yehudi Menuhin, v. Victor 8442/43.

*Symphony in C major (K425)*. British Broadcasting Company Sym. Orch. con. Fritz Busch. HMV DB2191/92/93.

MUSIC OF THE CHAPEL OF KING HENRY VI:  
*Salve Porta Paradisi; Beata Dei Genetrix Maria* (Nicholas Damett); *Gloria in Excelsis* (King Henry VI); *Credo* (Anon.) *Sanctus; Benedictus* (King Henry VI). Nashdom Abbey Sings. con. Rt. Rev. Dom Anselm Hughes. Columbia 7318M/19M.

NIN, JOAQUIN

*Polo. Malagueña*. Ninon Vallin, s; pf. acc. Nin. Columbia G4097M.

PAGANINI, NICOLÒ

*Caprice, op. 1, No. 24* (Ed. Auer). Jascha Heifetz, v; Arpad Sander, pf. HMV DB2218.

*Concerto No. 1 in D major*. Yehudi Menuhin, v; Orchestre Symphonique de Paris. con. Pierre Monteux. HMV DB2279/80/81/82/83.

POULENC, FRANCIS

*Pastourelle* (No. 8 de "L'Éventail de Jeanne"). *Toccata* (No. 2 des "3 Pièces pour piano") Reverse: *Etude XI* (Debussy). Vladimir Horowitz, pf. HMV DB2247.

PURCELL, HENRY

*Cornamusica*. Reverse: *Allegro* (D. Scarlatti); *Voiles (Prélude)* (Debussy). F. Buzaletti, pf. HMV S10455.

RACHMANINOFF, SERGEI

*Symphony No. 2 in E minor*. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Ormandy. Victor set M239.

RAVEL, MAURICE

*Trois Chansons: Nicolette; Ronde; Trois Beaux Oiseaux de paradis*. Les Chanteurs de Lyon. con. Leon Vietti. French Columbia DFX181.

REGER, MAX

*An die Hoffnung*. Johanna Egli, contralto. Orch. acc. German Odeon O-6935.

SCARLATTI, ALESSANDRO

*Good Humored Ladies—Suite* (arr. Tommasei). London Sym. Orch. con. Eugene Goossens. Victor 11425.

SCHUBERT, FRANZ

*Grand Fantasia in C major, op. 159*. Adolf Busch, v; R. Serkin, pf. Victor set M132.

*Quartet in A minor, op. 29*. Budapest Quartet. Victor set M225.

*Quartett-Satz, No. 12, in C minor*. Budapest Quartet. Victor 11699.

*Sonata in B flat*. Poltronieri, v; Bonucci, vc; Casella, pf. HMV DA1382.

SCHUMANN, ROBERT

*Concerto in A minor, op. 129*. Gregor Piatigorsky, vc; London Phil. Orch. con. Barbirolli. Victor set M247.

*Concerto in A minor, op. 54*. Alfred Cortot, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Landor Ronald. Victor set M39 (Re-recorded).

*Quartet in A major, op. 41, No. 3*. Prague Quartet. Victor set M224.

*Sonata in D minor, op. 121*. Hephzibah, pf. and Yehudi Menuhin, v. HMV DB2264/65/66/67.

*Sonata in G minor, op. 22*. Mischa Levitzki, pf. Victor 8363/64.

*Symphony No. 3 in E flat, op. 97*. Paris Conservatory Orch. con. P. Coppola. Victor set M237.

SMETANA, BEDRICH

*The Bartered Bride—Overture*. London Phil. Orch. con. Sir Hamilton Harty. Columbia 7311M.

Strauss, Johann

*Roses from the South*. Berlin Phil. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Columbia 9081M.

Strauss, Richard

*Burleske*. Elly Ney, pf. Berlin State Opera Orch. con. W. van Hoogstraten. Victor 11744/45.

*Salome: Jochanaan descends into the cistern*;

*Jochanaan is brought before Salome.* Pasdeloup Orch. con. P. Coppola. Victor 4283. *Salome: Final Scene.* Marjorie Lawrence, s; Pasdeloup Orch. con. P. Coppola. HMV DB4933/34.

*Schlechtes Wetter. Ständchen. All mein Gedanken. Hat gesagt bleib's nicht dabei.* Elisabeth Schumann, s. pf. acc. Karl Alwin. Victor 7707.

*Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks.* British Broadcasting Company Sym. Orch. con. Fritz Busch. Victor 11724/25.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR

*Duo Concertante.* Samuel Dushkin, v; Igor Stravinsky, pf. Columbia set 199.

*Les Noces.* Kate Winter, Linda Seymour, Parry Jones, Roy Henderson and chorus, with percussion orchestra, con. Igor Stravinsky. English Columbia LX326/27/28.

*Octet for Wind Instruments.* Ensemble con. Igor Stravinsky. Columbia 68203/04.

*Pétrouchka—Danse Russe.* Samuel Dushkin, v; Igor Stravinsky, p. *Pastorale.* Instrumental quintet. English Columbia LB15.

SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL

*Myths: The Fountain of Arethusa, op. 30.* [Reverse: *Flight of the Bumble-Bee* (Rimsky-Korsakow); *Pastorale* (Stravinsky)]. Joseph Szigeti, v; Nikita de Magaloff, pf. Columbia 7304M.

TARTINI, GIUSEPPE

*Sonata in G major.* Joseph Szigeti, v; Kurt Ruhrseitz, pf. Columbia 17036/37.

TECHAIROWSKY, PETER ILICH

*Manfred, op. 58.* London Sym. Orch. con. Albert Coates. Victor 11475.

*Quartet in F major, op. 22.* Budapest Quartet. Victor set M142.

VARÈSE, EDGAR

*Ionization.* Percussion ensemble, con. Nicholas Slonimsky. Columbia 4095M.

WEBER, C. M. VON

*Sonata in A major* (arr. Piatigorsky). Gregor Piatigorsky, vc; pf. acc. Victor 8453.

WOLF, HUGO

*Italian Serenade.* Budapest Quartet. Victor 4271.

